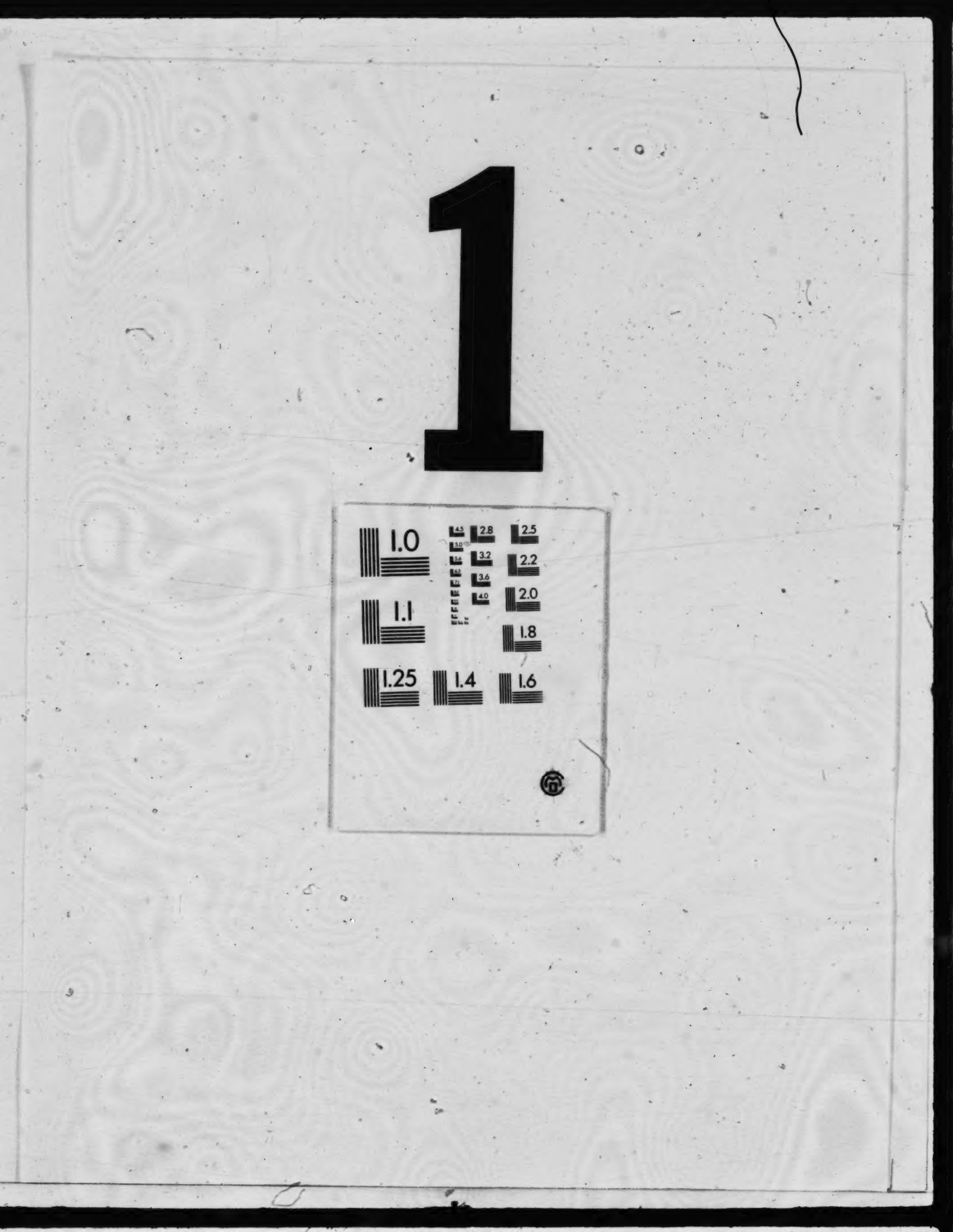
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POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN THE ALBERTA SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM, 1896 to 1935

by

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SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Political Socialization in the Alberta Social Studies Curriculum, 1896 to 1935" submitted by Gerald D. Klassen in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in the History of Education.

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Supervisor

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to compare the prevailing philosophical orientations of the leaders of two political regimes during the period from 1896 to 1935, and the impact that these orientations had upon the History, Geography and Civics curricula and selected texts in these areas. The educational system in Alberta as it is today is difficult to understand unless one realizes that it originated and developed in the late Nineteenth Century. This study has reviewed the system's general origins and its gradual evolution to the mid-1930s by examining the relationship between the views of political leaders and the Social Studies curricula and texts. It has demonstrated that conservative trends predominated throughout the period. On the other hand, it also indicated that another approach, known as progressivism, was espoused by some educators, and it reviewed the stages taken to implement some of the practices of this new pedagogy in the Province's schools. In doing this the study has provided much needed information and interpretation on the history of schooling in Alberta.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the presentation of this thesis the writer wishes to acknowledge his gratitude for the help and constant encouragement he has received from many sources. Very special thanks are due to the following: Dr. R.J. Carney, his supervisor, Dr. N. Kach and Dr. C.H. Preitz. Each of the above has made special contributions which have been appreciated by this writer.

Finally, the writer wishes to express his gratitude to his typists at My Private Secretary, who worked efficiently and willingly to type the thesis manuscript.

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Chapter I.

Political Orientations in Alberta Social Studies Curricula 1896-1935

The main theme of this thesis is to compare the prevailing political orientations of two political regimes during the period from 1896 to 1935, and the impact that these orientations had upon History, Geography, and Civics curricula and selected texts in these areas. The first period examined is between 1896 and 1921 in the area which was the Northwest Territories until 1905, in which year it became the province of Alberta. It is argued that ethical idealism was the general political temperament of the initial period, and that political leaders of the Northwest Territories, such as F.W.G. Haultain and A.C. Rutherford, subscribed to the tenets of ethical idealism during this time. The study will attempt to identify the extent to which these tenets are found in what will be termed the Social Studies curricula (History, Geography, Civics) and selected texts. It is also argued that social gospel and agrarian reform movements combined to form in the United Farmers of Alberta a moderate progressive orientation in the second period from 1921 to 1935. A similar attempt is made to identify this orientation in the Social Studies curricula and selected texts during this time.

Except for L.J. Wilson's study of the United Farmers of Alberta,[1] "The U.F.A. and Perren Baker" and the government's impact upon school programs, there are no studies that examine the relationship between the political climate of these periods and their effect upon the Social Studies curricula. There is clearly a need for a historical examination of the type proposed: first, to provide a much needed comprehensive study of the period and second, to demonstrate to present and future curriculum

developers, the importance that government influence has on schools programs.

Essentially, this is a study in political socialization, but it is limited to the relationship between the political climate and specific curricula and resources. It does not examine the role that teachers played in this relationship or the influence that institutional arrangements had upon the political socialization of students. There is evidence to indicate, however, that throughout this period the school, as a public agent of political socialization, attempted to inculcate in students, values, attitudes, and forms of behavior that in one way or another were supportive of the prevailing political philosophy. This study does not examine the extent to which this relationship modified or changed the political orientation of students. It is essentially a descriptive examination of the general political climate and its impact on the Social Studies curricula.

In order to accomplish the thesis' purpose a number of selected sources relating to the general philosophical orientation of the two periods were used. Among the references for the discussion of ethical idealism were:[2] G. Max Wingo's Philosophies of Education, J.D. Butler's Four Philosophies and Their Practice In Education and Religion, S.P. Duggan's A Student's Textbook in the History of Education, A.F. Lange and C. De Garmo's Herbart's Outlines of Educational Doctrine, S.E.D. Shortt's The Search for an Ideal, and F.C. Gruber's Historical and Contemporary Philosophies of Education. Wingo and Butler's texts were most useful in explaining the basic philosophies in education in this century paying particular attention to idealism. According to Wingo idealist educators are concerned with transmitting tried and tested values.[3] Butler notes that one of the strengths of idealism is that it is a comprehensive philosophy. It deals with both metaphysics and epistemology as equally important considerations.

He further argues that idealism as a comprehensive system of thought, has been practised to good effect in such important areas as education and religion.[4] However, in view of World War I and II, and the nuclear age, Butler questions the idealist's positive and optimistic view of human nature. He contends such optimism is one of weaknesses of idealism.[5] Duggan and De Garmo's texts were written in the early 1900s and were required reading for teachers at this time. It is clear from these texts that Herbart was studied extensively by prospective teachers and that memorization, classical logic, drill, and rote-learning were the main teaching strategies. A.B. McKillop in A Disciplined Intelligence argues that idealist educators were not only believers in the mental discipline method of learning, but also firmly believed that character and moral development should be of prime concern in education.[6] Gruber, like Wingo and Butler, indicates that an ethical idealist educator tended to relate all things to the divine plan of the universe.[7] Shortt and McKillop, however, disagree regarding the duration of idealism in Canada. Shortt claims that by the early 1900s idealism was on the wane. However, McKillop notes that whereas in Great Britain and the United States philosophical idealism had fallen into disrepute by the end of World War I, in Canada its hegemony was still intact. He maintains that the formal edifice of idealism was crumbling by "the sheer momentum of its own logic, yet its central core was to remain an important contribution to Anglo-Canadian thought".[8]

L.G. Thomas' The Liberal Party in Alberta,[9] J.G. MacGregor's A History of Alberta,[10] N.G. McDonald's "The School as an Agent of Nationalism in the Northwest 1884-1905", R.S. Patterson's "F.W.G. Haultain and Education in the Early West", and E. Hodgson's "The Nature and Purposes of the Public School in the Northwest Territories (1885-1905) and Alberta (1905-1963)" provided

helpful political and educational background for the period from 1896 to 1921.[11] Thomas' book provided valuable information on Premiers Rutherford, Sifton, and Stewart, and gives excellent background on the rise of the United Farmers of Alberta.[12] MacGregor's text is a good general history of Alberta from 1905 to the early 1970s.[13] R.S. Patterson and N.G. McDonald's theses were helpful in providing an outline of the state of education prior to the formation of Alberta.[14] Hodgson's thesis covered a period of seventy-eight years and was useful in providing a broad overview of Alberta's curricular changes from 1885 to 1963.[15] Hodgson also argues that ethical idealism was especially dominant during the formative years of Alberta's schooling.

The Reports of the Council of Public Instruction of the Government of the Northwest Territories were reviewed from 1896 to 1904.[16] The first non-sectarian curriculum was included in the 1896 report. For the period from 1905 to 1921 the Annual Reports of the Alberta Department of Education were helpful in that these reports gave the required program for each standard or grade, and some of the reports contained copies of examinations given at various levels. The Social Studies curriculum guides of 1896 and 1912 were examined in order to determine the extent to which an ethical idealist orientation was manifested in these key program outlines.[17] A number of Social Studies texts which were typical of the time were examined in order to determine the extent to which the ethical idealist orientation was manifested as well in these source materials.

Among the selected historical texts in Social Studies for the first period (1896-1921) were Highroads of History, Book V (1908),[18] Highroads of History (1912), Book III,[19] Buckley and Robertson's High School History of England and Canada (1908),[20] and P.V. Myers' General History (1889).[21] These books were selected because they were available and because

they typify prescribed sources in their unwavering respect for British traditions and the British Empire. As for Civics, J.G. Bourinot's How Canada is Governed (1895)[22] was examined because it was the only text used in this period. This text made it clear that students should owe their loyalty not only to Canada but to Britain. F.W. Parker's How to Study Geography (1889)[23] strongly reflected an ethical idealist perspective. G.A. Chase's High School Geography (1904) contained examples of morality and praise for Great Britain.[24] He also demonstrated that it was the responsibility of the British Empire to elevate pupils of lower civilizations who have come under Britain's control. Similarly, Morang's A Complete Geography (1908)[25] used in Grade X extolled the virtues of the British Empire.

Among the sources selected for an examination of pragmatism were J.D. Butler's Four Philosophies and Their Practice in Education and Religion,[26] G. Max Wingo's Philosophies of Education,[27] A.J. Ayers' The Origins of Pragmatism,[28] and E.C. Moore's American Pragmatism[29] and C.A. Bower's The Progressive Educator and the Depression.[30] Butler and Wingo's works were the easiest to understand for the student not specializing in philosophy. Butler indicates that one of the weaknesses of pragmatism is that it is too radically agnostic because it unnecessary reduces the continuity of man and nature to the level of nature. He contends that the pragmatic educator does not respect the individual but rather the collectivity. Wingo contends that the 'activity movement' that reached its peak in the thirties proceeded at the practical level largely without any real psychological or logical foundations. He further indicated that this lack of understanding, by teachers especially, led to much questionable improvisation. He felt that there was little connection between what J. Dewey had called the method of intelligence, and the cutting, colouring, and pasting that went on in many

schools in the 1930s. C.A. Bower's The Progressive Educator and the Depression and L. Cremin's The Transformation of the School[31] were especially valuable in explaining the rise of progressive education in the 1930s.

For the second part of the thesis, 1921 to 1935, W.K. Rolph's Henry Wise Wood of Alberta,[32] W.L. Morton's The Progressives in Canada,[33] P. Sharp's The Agrarian Revolt,[34] W. Irvine's The Farmers in Politics[35] and R. Allen's The Social Passion[36] were valuable sources. Rolph's book provided an intensive history of the United Farmers of Alberta (U.F.A.) as well as a biography of Henry Wise Wood. The works by Morton, Sharp, and Irvine were valuable in providing the wider context of the agrarian protest in North America. Allen's book was particularly helpful in determining the development of the social gospel and its impact on the U.F.A. Government. U.F.A. leaders, especially Wood and Irvine, were concerned with implementing group government and this corresponds well with the social gospel's emphasis on the collectivity. The main theses that were helpful for this discussion were L.J. Wilson's "Perren Baker and the United Farmers of Alberta", P.E. Oviatt's "The Educational Contributions of H.C. Newland"[37] and R.S. Patterson's "The Establishment of Progressive Education in Alberta".[38] Wilson's study provided an outline of Perren Baker's aims in education (Minister of Education 1921-1935) and of the nature of the U.F.A. party. Oviatt's and Patterson's theses were helpful in dealing with the development of progressive education in Alberta and in reviewing the influence of H.C. Newland upon Alberta's curriculum. In addition, the Annual Reports of the Department of Education from 1921 to 1935 were reviewed in order to gain information regarding changes in the Social Studies curriculum from 1921 to 1925 and again in 1934. In addition, the Social Studies curriculum guides of 1921, 1924, 1929, and 1930 were examined in order to determine the extent to which a more pragmatic or progressive type of education was manifested in these basic teacher's

directives. Finally, a number of related Social Studies texts which were typical of the time were reviewed in order to determine the extent to which a form of moderate progressive education was manifested in these sources.

Among the Social Studies historical texts selected from 1921 to 1935 were D. Dickie's When Canada was Young, Dickie's In Pioneer Days, W.S. Wallace's By Star and Compass,[39] G.M. Wrong's An English History, E.S. Symes' An English History,[40] W.S. Wallace's A New History of Great Britain and Canada,[41] R.B. Mowat's A New History of Great Britain,[42] and W.L. Grant's A History of Canada.[43] These texts are representative of the period, they were cited frequently in the guides, and generally reflected a tendency on the part of textbook writers to make their materials more interesting and exciting. In Civics, J.D. Hunt's The Dawn of a New Patriotism[44] was a very practical text, wherein debates and discussions were proposed as the main teaching strategies. J.G. Bourinot's text, How Canada is Governed, was not as practical. Teachers were to teach facts and concepts and although they were to make the course practical for the students, not much direction or material in this regard was given, other than having students follow current events.

The main terms used in this thesis are Ethical Idealism, Pragmatism or Moderate Progressivism, Social Studies, and Curriculum Guides. While the meaning of some of these terms varied over the period studied, the following operational definitions were selected, and are used throughout the study.

The Dictionary of Philosophy has a brief statement about ethical idealism:

> Any system of moral theory may be called Ethical Idealism, whether teleological or formal in principle which accepts several of the following: a) a scale or hierarchy of values, b) the axiological priority of the universal over the particular, and c) the axiological priority of the spiritual over the sensuous or material.[45]

Various strains in the idealist tradition converge to form the ethical thesis, which many idealists think is the single greatest element in their philosophical tradition, namely, that man is a purposive creature means that he is a valuing creature. Accordingly, the whole of history portrays the continuing effects of man to gain a firmer and more valid grasp of the Good.

Pragmatism to some is simply that the test of a true statement is how it works. The idea that every person should have educational opportunities appropriate to his own needs and abilities is very much emphasized in this tradition. That learning involves doing or "activity work" is also stressed by the pragmatist. The term moderate progressivism is simply a mild form of pragmatism or progressivism.

The terms 'History, Geography, and Civics' were used in the Course of Studies until 1936 at which time 'Social Studies' encompassed the three headings. For the sake of simplicity, the term 'Social Studies' is used interchangeably throughout this thesis in the discussion about curricula.

Curriculum can be defined as all the planned experiences provided by the school to assist the pupils toward achieving the designated learning outcomes to the best of their abilities. A study of curriculum organization reveals that the various designs may be grouped into three categories. These are explained by Virgil Herrick as follows:

> There are only three basic referents or orientations possible to consider in the development of distinctive curriculum patterns and in making pivotal curriculum decisions. These three referents are: 1) man's categorized and preserved knowledge--the subject fields; 2) our society, its institutions and social processes; and 3) the individual to be educated, his nature, needs, and developmental patterns. These three referents are the sources from which curriculum development and theorizing spring. They are also the source for the ancient controversies over the subject-centered, socialized-centered, and individual-centered curricula.46

The terms "Course of Study" and "curriculum guides" frequently have been confused and sometimes used interchangeably. A course of study can be defined as a formal outline of the prescribed content to be covered in a particular subject, group of subjects, or area of study by grades. It may or may not include some of the elements of a curriculum guide. A curriculum guide can be defined as a less formal document for teachers which contain the objectives, aims, and goals of instruction; suggested desirable content, learning experiences, and teaching aids that may be used to achieve them; and the evaluation techniques suitable for determining the extent to which they have been achieved.

In this thesis "Programme of Studies", "Course of Studies", and "Curriculum guides" will be used interchangeably since most of the principal educators used these terms that way. In general terms, then, a typical "Programme of Studies" for the period under study usually contained not only a list of topics to be examined, but also provided a brief comment on the methodology and evaluative procedures.

The discussion develops in the following sequence. Chapter I involves an outline of the study in general together with a review of the principal sources and definitions used. Chapter II will provide an overview of the political climate and will review the extent to which ethical idealism was at work in the Social Studies curricula of the Northwest Territories and Alberta from 1896 to 1921. In Chapter III nine Social Studies textbooks, which may be considered typical of the period from 1896 to 1921, will be reviewed in order to demonstrate the extent to which they reflected forms of ethical idealism. In Chapter IV the general philosophy of Alberta politics and education during the period from 1921 to 1935 is reviewed. It would appear that a general pragmatism or moderate progressivism was the

spirit of this time in Alberta. The shift from ethical idealism can, in part, be seen by the advancement of the social gospel, and the cooperative tendencies at work within the rise of the United Farmers of Alberta. Among the central questions addressed in this chapter are to what extent did this change in political philosophy affect education in general and how specifically did it affect the Social Studies curricula and resource materials at the elementary and secondary levels. In Chapter V eleven texts in the period from 1921 to 1935 will be reviewed in order to demonstrate that there was a shift from an emphasis on ethical idealism to a moderate pragmatism. The final chapter will provide a summary and will offer a set of observations that are apparent as a result of this study and will conclude with some recommendations for further study.

FOOTNOTES

[1]L.J. Wilson, "Perren Baker and the U.F.A. Party in Alberta" (Master's Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1970, Edmonton, Alberta) p. v-vii.

[2]G. Max Wingo, Philosophies of Education: An Introduction (Toronto: D.C. Heath and Company, 1974) p. 101.

[3]Ibid, op. cit. pp. 101-102.

[4]J.D. Butler, Four Philosophies and Their Practice in Education and Religion (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951) p. 284.

[5]Ibid, pp. 219-220.

[6]A.B. McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979) p. 5.

[7]Frederick C. Gruber (ed)., in Historical and Contemporary Philosophies of Education (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company) pp. 148-149.

[8]A.B. McKillop, op. cit., p. 229.

[9]L.G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta (Toronto: The University Press, 1958).

[10]Neil G. McDonald, "The School as an Agent of Nationalism in the Northwest Territories, 1885-1905", pp. 131-132 (Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1971) pp. 131-132.

[11]Ernest Hodgson, "The Nature and Purposes of the Public School in the Northwest Territories and Alberta" (Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1964) p. 388.

[12]L.G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta (Toronto: The University Press, 1958).

[13]J.G. MacGregor, A History of Alberta (Toronto: The University Press, 1970).

[14]R.S. Patterson, "F.W.G. Haultain and Education in the Early West" (Master's Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1961) pp. 106-107.

[15]Neil G. McDonald, "The School as an Agent of Nationalism in the Northwest Territories, 1884-1905" pp. 131-132.

[16]Report of the Council of Public Instruction of the Northwest Territories, 1901, p. 104.

[17]Report of the Council of Public Instruction of the Northwest Territories of Canada, 1904, p. 11.

[18]Highroads of History, Book V (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1908).

[19]Highroads of History, Book III (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1912).

[20]Buckley and Robertson's High School History of England and Canada (1908) (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1908).

[21]P.V. Myers' General History (1889) (Toronto: The Copp-Clark Company, 1889).

[22]J.G. Bourinot, How Canada is Governed (Toronto: The Copp-Clark Company Ltd., 1918).

[23]F.W. Parker, How to Study Geography (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1909).

[24]G.A. Chase, High School Geography, 1904 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1904).

[25]G. Morang's Complete Geography, 1908 (London: The Copp-Clark Company, 1908).

[26]J.D. Butler, Four Philosophies and Their Practice in Education and Religion (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951).

[27]G. Max Wingo, Philosophies of Education: An Introduction (Toronto: D.C. Heath and Company, 1974).

[28]A.J. Ayers, The Origins of Pragmatism (London: Macmillan Company, 1968).

[29]E.C. Moore, American Pragmatism (New York: The Macmillan Company Ltd., 1948).

[30]C.A. Bower, The Progressive Educator and the Depression (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1958).

[31]L. Cremin, The Transformation of School (New York: The Macmillan Company Ltd., 1958).

[32]W.K. Rolph, Henry Wise Wood of Alberta (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1950) p. 50.

[33]W.L. Morton, "The Progressives in Canada" (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1958).

[34]Paul Sharp, The Agrarian Revolt (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1957).

[35]William Irvine, The Farmer in Politics (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1920).

[36]Richard Allen, The Social Passion (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1971).

[37]P.E. Oviatt's, "The Educational Contributions of H.C. Newland" (M.Ed. Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1970) p. 231.

[38]R.S. Patterson, "The Establishment of Progressive Education in Alberta" (Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1968) p. 67.

[39]W.S. Wallace, By Star and Compass (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1925).

[40]E.S. Symes, An English History (Toronto: The Copp-Clark Company Ltd., 1905).

[41]W.S. Wallace, A New History of Great Britain and Canada (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1925).

[42]R.B. Mowat, A New History of Great Britain (London: Oxford University Press, 1925).

[43]W.L. Grant, History of Canada (Montreal: Renouf Publishing Company, 1923).

[44]J.D. Hunt, The Dawn of a New Patriotism (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1917).

[45]Ernest Hodgson, The Nature and Purposes of the Public School in the Northwest Territories and Alberta" (Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1964) p. 388.

[46] D. Evans & E. Neagley, Curriculum Theory (New York: The Macmillan Company Ltd., 1962).

Chapter II

Philosophical Orientations of Political Leaders in the Northwest Territories and Alberta - 1896-1921

This chapter will involve a discussion of the general orientations of the major political leaders and educationists of the period from 1896 to 1921 in the area of the Northwest Territories which became the province of Alberta in 1905. First, a brief analysis of idealism and ethical idealism will be presented. Second, an outline will be given to show the extent to which this orientation was reflected in the statements of government leaders such as F.W.G. Haultain, A.C. Rutherford, A.L. Sifton, and C. Stewart, and in the remarks of the Ministers and Deputy Ministers of Education during this period. Finally, there will be a review of selected school inspectors' remarks during this period in order to demonstrate the extent to which they were influenced by this orientation.

It is not possible to understand the general principles of ethical idealism without an understanding of the philosophy of idealism. Idealism, as a systematic philosophy, is the elaboration and systematization of the basic proposition that mind is the primary and irreducible fact of human experience.[1] One part of the basic thesis of all idealism is that mind is prior; that when one seeks what is ultimate in the world one shall find that it is the nature of mind and spirit--just as it is mind that is ultimate in the inner world of personal experience. This idea may be expressed in the concept that is central to idealism--the principle of priority of consciousness.[2]

From this central principle one may come to certain conclusions that are important in understanding the idealist tradition. First, it may be concluded that if mind is prior in the sense that it is ultimate

reality, then material things do not exist at all, or if they do exist, they in some way depend for their existence on mind. Given the basic postulate of the priority of consciousness, one can infer properly that if mind is prior then it is in some sense the cause for the existence of other things and for the character of that world of things and events that one meets in his ordinary experience.[3]

The above inference serves to illustrate the function that idealism as a philosophical tradition has had in the intellectual history of western culture. Idealism has always been conceived as the ancient and implacable enemy of all forms of materialism. There are various forms of philosophical materialism, but the basic tenet of all these is that what is ultimately real in the universe is matter. Idealists reject this materialistic thesis since they cannot conceive that mind, which is active, dynamic and creative, could have come from material stuff, which is inert and lifeless. They also question how a universe that is nothing but matter in motion could possibly have a place in it for value and for those concerns that have always engaged the highest efforts of mankind. In a contemporary examination of the pholosophy of idealism, G. Max Wingo indicates that absolute idealism interprets the principle of consciousness as meaning that the concrete world of things and events is a product of the conscious processes of the Absolute Mind.[4]

To the idealist the historical process is rational and orderly because it is the product of a Supreme Reason, in which rationality and orderliness function in complete perfection. Wingo further asserts that much of the enormous influence that idealism exerted in its heyday in the 1870s was undoubtedly due to its close affiliation with Christian religious doctrine, particularly Protestant doctrine.[5]

While the great names in the history of absolute idealism are Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, idealist's views were also widely held in North America in the late nineteenth century. Without exception, according to Wingo, every great American exponent of idealism has found an organic connection between the philosophy of idealism and the basic tenets of the Judaic-Christian view of the world.

One is assured by the idealist that the reality one encounters in his own experience is the product of an Ultimate Intelligence, and that the world in its essential character is rational and orderly. The idealist further maintains that there is an objective body of truth, and that even finite minds are capable of apprehending it, though not in its entirety. The idealist maintains that one can know that his ideas are true, when they are in harmony with the already existing and accepted body of truth. The criterion for the truth of an idea is coherence: that is, an idea is true when it is consistent with the existing and accepted body of truth.[6]

Various strains in the idealist's tradition converge to form the ethical thesis, which many idealists think is the single greatest element in their philosophical tradition. That man is a purposive creature means also that he is a valuing creature. He cannot escape the necessity of placing value on things and events and experiences. To the idealist the whole of history portrays the continuing efforts of man to gain a firmer grasp and more valid grasp of the good.[7]

If men are to make judgments about value, they must have some standard by which particular things can be judged as good or bad. The idealist has always been certain that such norms do exist and that they characterize reality itself. The idealist believes that there are supreme unchanging values concerning truth, goodness, and beauty. Idealism, then, has profound ethical implications. As mentioned previously, The Dictionary of Philosophy indicates the consequences that an idealist's point of view has upon ethics. It defines ethical idealism as follows:

> Any system of moral theory, may be called Ethical Idealism, whether teleological or formal in principle, which accepts several of the following: a) a scale or hierarchy of values, b) the axiological priority of the universal over the particular, and c) the axiological priority of the spiritual over the sensuous or material.[8]

It has been said the main purpose of philosophical idealism is to make the world safe for value. There is agreement among many idealists that, with the possible exception of religion, education is more intimately involved in the value enterprise than any other social activity. In one sense, any scheme of education is a moral enterprise because the effort to educate is the effort to help an individual become what he would not be otherwise. J.F. Herbart, an outstanding German philosopher and educator, was commonly referred to by teachers in the United States and Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[9] Herbart, an idealist, indicated that the term virtue expressed the whole purpose of education:

> It is helpful to give the pupil abundant opportunity to pass judgment upon the moral

> quality of actions not his own. . . . Literature furnishes the earliest and most copious examples; later, history may be helpful, though there is a danger of taking partial views as to the moral quality of historical deeds. All the relations can be easily perceived but any historical event is likely to be a small section of a whole too vast for the youthful mind to comprehend. It is for this reason that caution is needed when passing judgment upon historical facts.[10]

Herbart indicated that the teacher's first duty was to study the positively good elements in the native character of the being to be educated in order:

> To preserve these, to strengthen them, to transform them into virtue, and to fortify them against every danger, should be his incessant endeavour. . . . For all subsequent moral education must start from that point. [11]

The moral end of life, character development, was considered by Herbart to be the aim of education. This was not to be attained as with Rousseau, by cultivating the native capacities of the child; nor, as with Pestalozzi, by developing all the faculties harmoniously. Herbart rejected the "faculty psychology" of the mind and its pedagogic corollary, the dogma of formal discipline. The individual, he thought, was destined to live with his fellowmen in society, and the aim of education would be attained only by analyzing the social interests of men to discover which were best for the educated man, and then by means of instruction to develop and apply them. The more thoroughly the teacher built up by means of instruction a number of fine interests in the individual which would become springs to action, the more successful would he be in developing moral character without sacrificing individuality.[12]

Herbart believed that man's interests came from his experience with things and his intercourse with people. Hence, there are two main branches of instruction: the scientific, including natural science and mathematics; and the social or historical, including the chief products of man's social evolution, viz., language, literature, and history. Although both branches of instruction were considered important to enable man to find his place in the world, the social subjects, or historical subjects, as Herbart called them, offered the best opportunity to colour the facts with "good will".[13] They were, therefore, especially necessary to an understanding of human relations and to the attainment of the moral end of education. According to Herbart knowledge came from two sources, nature and society. This knowledge was considered to lead to ideas which in turn would lead to action. Character building, the end of education, thus had its beginning in knowledge and its end action. This was Herbart's "cycle of thought" and its importance was readily seen in instructional procedure which would determine the character of the child according to the nature of ideas presented and the manner in which they were acquired.[14]

Herbart's Method-Whole or Five Formal Steps of the Recitation as generally interpreted today are as follows:

> 1) Preparation. According to the principle of apperception, the child's mind should be prepared for the new material by recalling to his mind the ideas he already has which will enable him to readily assimilate the new and which will put him in the proper frame of mind to do so.
>
> 2) Presentation, the actual statement and the explanation of the new experience to be appropriated.
>
> 3) Association, the actual combination of the new with the old.

> 4) Generalization, the drawing of the rule, definition, or general principle resulting from the comparison of particular instances that took place in the third step.
>
> 5) Application, the testing of the understanding of the general principle through the solution of assigned tasks and problems.[15]

The first four steps are inductive, the fifth deductive. The five formal steps were generally adopted in the normal schools of the United States and Canada in the late nineteenth century as forming the best method of learning. To the extent that they furnished young teachers a standard by means of which they could plan out a lesson in advance, they served a useful purpose.

Wherever his educational principles were accepted such as in Germany, the United States and Canada, there followed a great emphasis upon:

> 1) the importance of school instruction in developing moral character, and the necessity of relying upon human nature rather than the natural capacities of the child to attain that end;
>
> 2) the need of sound methods of teaching, based upon a knowledge of the way in which the mind acts and expands;
>
> 3) the exaltation of the teacher in the educational process, and the need of careful training for the teaching vocation.[16]

In summary, the aim was moral strength of character, a will with inner freedom whose volitions were always in accord with the moral law. The three major divisions of education were instruction, discipline, and training. Since psychological inquiry showed that the entire mental life was built out of presentations, instruction was directed toward enlarging the child's circle of thought and developing in him a many-sided interest by efficiently introducing the proper presentations into his apperceptive

mass. According to Herbart, discipline kept the child obedient and attentive so that instruction and training would do their work before the child had developed a proper will of his own. Training worked constantly with instruction and discipline to form the will directly through such means as environment, examples, and ideals. Under discipline, the child would act rightly because he had been conditioned to do so.[17]

To the idealist, the school is an institution whose purpose is the preservation, refinement, and transmission of a body of essential truth. The idealist is committed to the belief that there is a body of truth, that this truth can be known, and that it must be transmitted to the young.

It is clear therefore, that the responsibility of the school must be to transmit the essential portions of particular heritage to all who come under its jurisdiction. There must be no exceptions because every individual must regulate his conduct in accordance with tradition and the wisdom of his ancestors. The idealist further believes that the human mind can distinguish between truth and error, and since tradition furnished the basis for the evolution of one's ideas, tradition must be perpetuated and passed from one generation to another. This, according to idealists such as Herbart and De Garmo, is the responsibility of education.[18]

De Garmo's Essentials of Method was one of the first books in the United States which reflected this idealist and Herbartian point of view. It was used as early as 1896 in the Normal Schools of the Northwest Territories. The text is very much in line with the tenets of idealism. For example, according to De Garmo,

> The most obvious ways that the school has of securing a good "memory of the will" are those by which it enforces the well-known school virtues,--regularity, punctuality, silence, and industry.[19]

Herbart indicated that the teacher's first duty was to study the positively good elements in the native character of the individual to be educated. The next step was:

> To preserve these, to strengthen them, to transform them into virtue, and to fortify them against every danger, should be his incessant endeavour. . . .For all subsequent moral education must start from that point.[20]

W.E. Hocking, an idealist educator, who wrote from 1910 to 1942, agreed with Herbart in insisting that education must offer something morally uplifting and positive. The first right of children is not that they be left free to choose their way of life but that they be given something positive. Children have the right to benefit by the best the race has to offer.[21] Note should be made of the heavy emphasis that Herbart placed upon direct teaching in transmitting a specific cultural heritage. According to H.H. Horne in Idealism in Education (1910), the best way to establish a solid educational foundation for curriculum construction is to conceive clearly the "ideal character of man and the characteristics of an ideal society".[22] With this knowledge in hand, the teacher should judiciously select those experiences, activities, life-situations, and studies that would contribute to these ideal ends. Horne's work was one of the required texts used in the first Normal School of Alberta as early as 1906. Horne contended that truth, beauty, and goodness are spiritual ideals of the race and, therefore, the supreme task of education is the adjustment of the child to "these essential realities that the history of the race has disclosed".[23] Horne argued that the mind of the race is the individual mind written large. In both, the three ultimate modes of consciousness are knowing, feeling and willing. According to Horne:

> These three modes in the racial mind present the individual with a spiritual environment of three modes: the intellectual, the aesthetic, and the moral.[24]

Education is one of the important adjusting agencies which mediates between the individual mind and the spiritual environment surrounding him. In fulfilling the task of education the teacher must bring the individual to seek the truth and avoid error, to feel beauty and transcend ugliness, to achieve good and conquer evil. Horne phrases the educational objective of the individual in terms of a hierarchy of values, arranged according to the extent to which each value contributes to the realization of man's absolute goal. As evident in the following, this is a more integrated statement visualizing a perfectly integrated person as the objective to be realized by education in each individual:

> At the top of the scale would come worship as bringing man into conscious relation to the infinite spirit of the universe. Next to worship would come character in the individual and justice in society as indicating the will of man toward the eternal right. Next would come the production and enjoyment of the beautiful as revealing the infinite perfection. Next would come knowledge as the thinking of thoughts embodied in the structure of the universe. And then the skill requisite to one's economic independence, which is related both to personal character and to social justice, and which should bring man into sympathy and harmony with the creative spirit of the universe . . . . These values are all interrelated.[26]

Horne sees both morality and religion in the imitative process. It is therefore imperative for teachers themselves to be the best living model before their classes. Echoing St. Paul, Horne urges that "the highest duty and privilege of the teacher is to be in whatsoever things are true, honest, pure, lovely, and of good report what he is willing for

his pupils to become".[27] Actually, he explains, this is the crux of the whole problem of teaching morality and religion in public non-denominational schools. Whereas the character of the public school does not permit the direct teaching of religion, and whereas the nature of both morality and religion defy this complete transmission by pure instruction alone, the personality of the teacher can convey both. Horne sees the teacher's role as essential:

> The quandary of the school as to how to cultivate morality and religion without being able to teach them is solved through the provision of teachers with personalities worthy of imitation by the pupils.[28]

More specifically, every curriculum to be adequate must include schoolroom equivalents of the three aspects of social achievement, namely, intellect, emotion, and will. Horne contends that all the subjects are only to be used as a means to the great end of living completely through understanding life. Information will become knowledge, books will become tools, and the best ideas will become ideals.[29]

Idealists, including Herbart, would agree that class discussion is a good method of teaching but they would recommend caution so that this does not degenerate to the level where it is little more than an ill-prepared pooling of ignorance. Discussion is considered to be wasteful unless it is conducted by skillful leaders which presupposes experience, study, observation, and knowledge on the part of those participating.

Lecture is another method which idealists employ. There is place for good expository presentations by the teacher in which accurate representations of objective information are made or in which precepts, beliefs, and interpretations are wisely offered as counsel. Herbart recommended this method in the teaching of history as well.

Finally, the idealists maintain that in the curriculum there must be much objective content if there is to be any solidity in education. Students are to have a rugged mental diet.[30]

With this philosophical tradition and teaching methodology in mind, the writer will examine the extent to which ethical idealism was manifested in the public statements of the Premiers, Ministers of Education, and Deputy Ministers of Education in the province of Alberta. A brief comment will be made in the conclusion to determine the degree to which school inspectors and school superintendents subscribed to these views.

All the Premiers and Ministers of Education in Alberta were educated in the public school system, were Protestant in religious affiliation, and most were members of Imperial political associations such as the Canada Club, the Albany Club, and the Canada First Movement.[31] Although these men were Christians, they preferred the development of a strong public school system rather than a sectarian religious one.

F.W.G. Haultain was the first leading statesman of the Northwest Territories. He was born in Woolwich, England in 1857 but came to Canada at an early age. In his early teens, Haultain lived in Montreal, where his father was secretary of a French Canadian Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church. After attending the Montreal High School and the Peterborough Collegiate Institute, he enrolled in the honours classics programme at the University of Toronto, where he came under the influence of the Anglican Reverend Dr. John McCaul. He was also a good friend of McCaul's son, Charles. In 1884 Charles McCaul, in need of a legal partner, persuaded Haultain to come to Fort Macleod in the Territories.[32] Once at Macleod, however, Haultain, sensing the opportunities before him, established his own flourishing practice and, in 1887, was elected to

represent the area on the Northwest Territories Council. Although a Conservative federally, he was opposed to political partisanship in territorial politics. His non-denominational stance in education owes something to his Masonic commitments. The Masonic orders were eager to have a strong public school system in the United States and Canada because they felt that a denominational or sectarian school system would not be conducive to national unity.[33] However, the Masons were insistent in their demands that the public school system would have a strong moral ethical base.

Haultain's advancement in the Masonic order and his association with Imperialist clubs led him to believe that it was unnecessary for Roman Catholics, a dwindling religious minority, to have the prominent role in the territorial school system given them in the legislation of 1884. According to Haultain the demand for equal status by the French Canadians was out of the question given their small number. According to M.R. Lupul this does not mean that Haultain was prejudicial in his treatment of the French Canadian Catholics:[34]

> That Haultain affected 'English' ways, speech and dress is clear, but in the absence of private correspondence it is difficult to say whether he was personally prejudiced against either group. To Father Leduc, of course, Haultain's prejudice was surpassed only by Goggin's. But significant also were Haultain's later rulings as Chief Justice of Saskatchewan's Supreme Court (1912-1917) requiring all Catholics to support a separate school, once established. Conceivably a confirmed anti-Catholic might have been less generous.[35]

According to R.S. Patterson the most outstanding characteristics of the educational development during the period from 1884 to 1905 in the Northwest Territories was the trend toward a public, non-sectarian school

system. Haultain was a leader in this movement maintaining that separate schools divided the population and made it difficult to unify the Territories on important issues such as responsible government and autonomy. The most important step towards the secularization of the dual system that had been established in 1884 was the passage of the 1892 School Ordinance which ended the dual Board of Education.[36]

The Catholic hierarchy took strong exception to the abolition of the Board of Education. They considered the 1892 Ordinance a betrayal of an earlier commitment to two distinct systems. They petitioned the Governor-General to disallow the 1892 legislation and so to restore sectarian control of schools, text, and courses of study by the Roman Catholic church. They protested the 1892 regulation which would require all prospective teachers (including numbers of religious orders) to show evidence of Normal School training. The Federal government conducted an inquiry into the issue and returned the question to the Territorial Assembly. No changes were made in the Board of Education or its powers.[37]

At the same time Haultain and other advocates of national or public schools wanted the schools to be Christian and to have a strong pervading ethical or moral tone. But they did not want sectarian schools because they felt this would not be conducive to national unity. Haultain felt that separate schools divided the population and made it difficult to unify the Territories on important issues.

Haultain's comments in 1892 indicate the desire of many to have a national system of government controlled schools. With respect to teacher certification, he said:

> Our duty is to see that none but properly qualified teachers are engaged in our schools, and that none but properly conducted

> schools receive public money, and those duties cannot be delegated to the representatives of any religious body or bodies.[38]

Haultain indicated that the religious complexion of the school was a local and domestic matter, and that under the 1892 law religious instruction could be given at the discretion of the trustees in the last half-hour of the day. Haultain did not believe that local religious instruction needed to have the full apparatus of sectarian control:

> The responsibility of the general management of our schools, for the educational policy of the Territories, and for the expenditure of the school vote is above and beyond any sectarian difference. Expenditure and control are inseparable, and so long as schools continue to receive government grants, they must be subject to government control.[39]

Haultain's argument contains the principle essential to the position of those who were advocates of a national system of schools. As stated previously, however, the advocates of national schools were deeply concerned that the schools have a pervading moral, ethical, if not Christian, atmosphere. Bible reading at the beginning of the day, the Lord's Prayer, and the provision for religious instructions at the end of the day were considered to contribute to a strong moral or ethical tone in the schools.[40]

Thus, in 1892 all schools receiving government grants came under the jurisdiction of the Council of Public Instruction. While separate schools were provided locally either for Catholic or Protestants, all schools were to be governed by the same regulations. Uniformity was established with respect to curriculum, courses of study, examinations, texts, and teacher training. To further carry out the centralization of

power in the hands of the territorial government, the 1892 Ordinance provided for the appointment of a Superintendent of Education for the Territories,[41] who was to administer Ordinances relating to schools and the regulations of the Council of Public Instruction.

In 1892 Haultain appointed D.J. Goggin as the Superintendent of Education in the Northwest Territories. Goggin was essentially a Canadian nationalist in the imperialist tradition. He was a member of the Church of England, and secretary of the Anglican synod of Rupert's Land. He was Grand Master of the Freemasons, and a member of the British Empire Club from its beginning. Goggin was also a member of the National Club and the Albany Club of Toronto.[42] The former was the direct descendant of the Canada First Movement and, the latter, the successor of the United Empire Club. These Clubs were known for their nationalist and imperialist sentiments. In Goggin's statements one can observe the ethical idealist position. In 1898, as Superintendent of Education in the Northwest Territories, he outlined some of the procedures to be followed by an inspector upon visiting a schoolroom:

> He observes the teacher's conduct of a recitation, definiteness of aim, selection of facts, clearness of presentation, character of drill, and notes the habits of the pupils in seats during the period.[43]

The meaning of the quotation is clear. The teacher was in possession of a body of material which it was his duty to convey in an orderly and systematic way to his pupils. The pupils, in turn, were expected to master a certain minimum body of knowledge, and to give evidence of this mastery through a system of external examinations. As Goggin had recorded earlier in an assessment of the Council's Standard II and IV examinations:

> These examinations raised the standard of scholarship, directed the teaching into sounder lines, caused the essentials to be learned more thoroughly. . . . ,and spurred the indolent and indifferent to more vigorous and systematic endeavour. . . .[44]

Goggin, in an 1896 publication, took pains to show the relationship of manners to morals:

> It is recognized that graceful behavipr should have as its basis, good moral character since manners are not idle but are the fruit of loyal nature and of noble mind. In order that a pupil may do his duty intelligently he must know what his duty is, see the reasonableness of it and feel its obligatoriness. He has learned something of number and language before he enters school but once there he is instructed in the subject matter of arithmetic and grammar and required to put it to use as a test of effective instruction. The child entering school knows something of duty but of the subject matter of morality--man's relation to man--he knows little. He needs the knowledge. It can be acquired in substantially the same manner as the knowledge of grammar and can be turned to use daily until correct thinking passing over into right action is crystallized into right habit.[45]

In 1898 Goggin asserted that the educational authorities in the Territories were engaged in building up a sound patriotic spirit. In history and in literature, younger children studied the lives of great men and were helped to draw moral and civic lessons from their acts and motives, obedience to duty, and respect for authority. These virtues were developed in the lessons, and their practice was required in the classroom. From the first, pupils memorized poems and sang songs that intensified the feelings aroused by their studies. According to Goggin, intelligent thought stimulated by emotion was to pass over into definite purpose and into rational action:

> There is a patriotism that prompts men to go to war and if need be to die for their country. There is a patriotism that arouses

> civic spirit and prompts men to live for their country, performing civic duties on election day, and every other day. This patriotism, beginning in love and obedience and respect for authority in the home, and continuing in the school, can be depended on in the community and the state. . . .[46]

In 1898 Goggin wrote in respect to Elementary Geography and Nature Study that there was a knowledge which contributed to the earning of a living. Or, the study could be taught in such a way as to provide training in observation and the scientific method. Thirdly, there was a knowledge of Nature and Geography which would lead the student to see the beauty around him. But most important of all was the spiritual view, the view that would give the student an insight into all life with its unity, and would lead him "to look reverently to the Author of all life--through Nature to Nature's God--the thought that makes life worth living".[47]

The above conception of God as Creator and mover of all life reflects an ethical idealist view. The school was viewed as a social organization in which a student was to undergo development in many respects, but most of all in the area of right behaviour. The student became a better person and in due course a better adult, able to make a living and live a worthy life. All these orientations are generally in keeping in what has been described as an ethical idealist's point of view.

The Programme of Studies which Goggin introduced in the Territories in 1896 was directed to morality, ethics, and sound character development. At the time of its introduction he wrote:

> In the Programme of Studies provision is made for the teaching of those subjects a knowledge of which is helpful in the transaction of business, the duties of citizenship, the care of the body and the formation of moral character. This knowledge is needed by all, and may be so presented as to be objectionable to none.[48]

A general statement by Goggin two years later gives a good summary of what he saw to be the aims of the school:

> Courses of study and methods of teaching are shaped by certain considerations. The pupil must be prepared as a member of society to live a worthy life and earn a respectable living. The family, the state, the church, and the school must cooperate in preparing for his two-fold life work. He must acquire at least an elementary knowledge of the civilization into which he is born and in which he must live worthily or unworthily. In history and literature he reads of the real and ideal acts of men and of nations and so may receive instruction in duty, guidance in action and inspiration for effort, and thus his political duties and rights become clearer. He is led to form judgments as to the moral qualities of deeds performed by those he reads about and this has a reflex effect upon his own acts. His training in manners and morals makes him acquainted with those habits for rights and feelings of others and are the measure of good behaviour in society.[49]

Goggin maintained that the student would gain all this knowledge by methods that would impart to his mind power, balance, skill, and the spirit of inquiry. The learner should be led as well to see clearly that he must earn a living as well as live a worthy life. To live a worthy life was clearly more important than to earn a living.

The general rule of the school in preparing the child to grow in many ways in preparation for his taking a place in society is indicated in Goggin's report to the Department of Education in 1902:

> Unless the pupil leaves our school with refined and gentle manners, with a self-control sufficient to free him from the need of external restraint and guidance, with a clear knowledge of his duties and sound views of the worth of life and its prizes, with a power of growth and a thirst after knowledge, the schools have not done their best work for him, however broad and accurate his scholarship may be.[50]

Superintendent Goggin was not willing to trust the molding of future citizens of the Northwest Territories to untrained and unprofessional teachers. Character training is a recurrent theme throughout his writings and public speeches. These priorities, moral training and character development, are found consistently throughout the system established by him and in the directives of the Council of Public Instruction. The principles were in effect, the guidelines along which the system developed and are found through the curriculum.

In 1902 James A. Calder succeeded Goggin as Deputy Commissioner for the Northwest Territories. Of Scottish origin, he was born in Ingersoll, Ontario in 1868. He received a B.A. degree from Manitoba College in 1889, and an LL.D. degree from Toronto University in 1905. From 1902 to 1905 he served as Deputy Commissioner of Education for the Northwest Territories.[51] He was a member of the Ottawa Interprovincial Conference in 1906 and served as Commissioner of Education under the Scott administration in Saskatchewan. Calder carried on the Goggin styled curricula as is evidenced by his Report on Education in 1903. The History and Geography curricula at that time were the same as they were in 1896. Calder was a Methodist, was active in the temperance movement, and was a member of the Loyal Orange Association of British America.[52] In general, he was sympathetic with the idea of moral and patriotic education being given prominence in the History curriculum. Speaking of the Normal Schools in 1903, Calder stated:

> The aim of the department has been to provide for the students in attendance such a course in professional training as will fit them to perform their duties as teachers in our public school standards. Non-essentials and those phases of a teacher's training which

> are commonly referred to as "fads and frills" have as far as possible been eliminated.[53]

This marks the end of the territorial period wherein F.W.G. Haultain figured so prominently. As an advocate of national schools he was deeply concerned that the public schools have a pervading moral, ethical, if not Christian, atmosphere. Haultain's successor in Alberta was A.C. Rutherford.

Rutherford was born in 1857 at Osgoode, Ontario. His early education was obtained at a local "Scotch" school, but he later travelled some distance each day to attend the public high school at Metcalfe. In 1874 he enrolled in the Canadian Literary College at Woodstock, Ontario.[54] Upon graduation Rutherford taught school for one year in the Osgoode township, and then entered McGill University to study law. He graduated with a B.S. degree in 1881 and the B.L.L. degree in 1884. He then practised law for ten years as a junior partner in an Ottawa firm. Following this he moved to South Edmonton in the Northwest Territories. He took active part in community affairs and held many public offices while practising law. From 1905 to 1910, Rutherford was Premier of Alberta, Provincial Treasurer and Minister of Education. By adopting many of the regulations and administrative precedents established by the Territorial Department of Education, the new department was able to avoid any serious interruptions in the transition from territorial to provincial institutions.[55]

As was noted previously, Goggin had drawn up a school program in 1896. Goggin's program covered the full range of the present Grades I to XII, but was based on eight standards. Standards I to V covered the range from Grades I to VIII (common or elementary school) and Standards VI, VII, and VIII corresponded to Grades IX to X.[56] This system remained in effect until 1912 when a committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. H.M. Tory, introduced the grade system.

In most other respects, however, Rutherford accepted the system he inherited. Rutherford commended the Territorial government for the way in which it dealt with the separate school question in the Territories. He was in full accord with the idea of discouraging separate schools although he did not prohibit them. In 1906 Rutherford appeared pleased to report that not a single application had been made for the establishment of a separate school since the formation of the province. Six months later, referring to the educational policies followed during his first year in office, he said:

> No legislation has been passed which could in any way hamper the province in educational matters, and the regulations and administration of the system have been complete accord with the commendable policy followed by the late Territorial government, by which organization of separate schools was discouraged, though not prohibited, by which uniform courses of study, texts, teacher qualifications, standards of scholarship and inspection are maintained in all schools whether public or separate. One Normal School and only one for all teachers whether Protestant, Catholic, or heathen is maintained.[57]

Politics in the Territories had been non-partisan, and though Rutherford was a Liberal, it was the educational policy of Haultain, a man of conservative learnings, which gained most favour in Rutherford's eyes.[58]

Believing the quality of education to be the chief determining factor in character building and moral development, Rutherford wanted the educational system to be efficient. He spoke of the children of Alberta as the province's greatest asset, as "our jewels which should shed lustre on the schools of Alberta".[59] The duty of the government, as Rutherford perceived it, was to ensure the opportunity of at least a grade eight education for all. The quality of the province's common school (Grades I

to VIII), therefore, was of primary concern to him:

> We should leave no stone unturned, should leave nothing undone to bring within the reach of every boy and girl the fullest and most education, which carries with it the greatest of all gifts, namely: virtue, knowledge, and judgment.[60]

Thus, one can see that morality, high standards, and character development were still considered of paramount importance during Rutherford's period in office.

If Rutherford believed schooling to be the soundest basis for character development, he felt just as strongly that the basis of a good educational system was a high standard of teaching and this could be achieved by higher salaries.[61]

Rutherford was pleased that Albertans seemed very interested in education. Speaking to the press in September 1907, he stated "Education is the basis of intelligent citizenship, and the foundation of all good government".[62] His educational aims, published prior to the election of 1907, read as follows:

> The aim of the Minister of Education is to make in Alberta, from the primary school up to the university, one continuous chain of development, each phase complete in itself and all happily blended into one strong system. It is expected that the university, the common school, and the high school authorities, will formulate their respective courses in harmony. Thus the system of education may be one simplified and strengthened.[63]

A distinctive feature of Rutherford's educational policy was his attitude toward schools for foreigners. Considering education in a free country as a basis for intelligent citizenship, he appointed a special supervisor to work among the Galician immigrants. In 1906 Rutherford indicated that he felt it was the provincial government's duty to properly organize school districts among the Galicians and other foreign groups.

In 1908 he indicated that forty-eight school districts had been erected in the foreign settlements.[64] The purpose of schooling, of course, was to assimilate foreigners and ensure that they, too, would gain a high respect for high standards, moral development, and genuine patriotism.

Rutherford's personal views on administration and the development of the province of Alberta were at once conservative and creative. He believed in retaining much of the preceding system, but was anxious to tap new potentials.

To encourage immigration Rutherford, therefore, founded a Department of Railways and placed himself at its head. In this capacity he became involved in the Alberta and Great Waterways scandal and was forced to resign as Premier in 1910.[65]

For much of Rutherford's term in office, D.S. MacKenzie was the Deputy Minister of Education. MacKenzie was of Scottish origin and was born in Holyroad, Ontario in 1868. He attended Owen Sound Collegiate Institute and Regina Normal School. For eight years he was a principal of a public school in Strathcona, Alberta. From 1904 to 1905 he was chief clerk for the Department of Education in Regina. In 1905 he became Deputy Minister of Education in Regina. In 1905 he became Deputy Minister of Education in Alberta and worked closely in this capacity with Rutherford and his successors. MacKenzie was Deputy Minister of Education until 1917.[66] His appreciation for the efficacy of the British educational system can be detected from his remarks in the Annual Report of the Alberta Department of Education of 1909:

> Last year a very satisfactory arrangement was made whereby British teachers possessing full academic and professional qualifications might be recognized as teachers in this province without further examination. The department is greatly indebted to the officials of English and Scottish

> Boards of Education at Whitehall and of the Office of National Education, Dublin, for the care in which the qualifications and suitability of applicants have been considered and reported; and by means of a system of careful selection of teachers in this province should gradually disappear.[67]

Rutherford continued to rely on Great Britain for teachers until his resignation in 1910.

Rutherford was replaced by Arthur Sifton who previously had been Chief Justice of the Northwest Territories from 1903 to 1905 and of Alberta from 1905 until 1910. Sifton was educated in the public schools in Ontario, at Wesley College, Winnipeg, and at Victoria University in Cobourg, Ontario.[68] He was called to the bar in the Northwest Territories in 1883 and became Queen's Counsel in 1892. He practised law at Brandon, in partnership with his brother, Clifford, then in Prince Albert and, after 1888, in Calgary. Entering politics as a Liberal, he represented Banff in the Territorial legislature from 1889 to 1903 and served as Treasurer and Commissioner of Public Works in the Haultain administration. In 1903 he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories and on the creation of the province of Alberta he became its first Chief Justice. He represented Vermilion in the Provincial Legislature from 1910 to 1917. In the latter year, he broke with the Liberal Party on the conscription issue. He then entered federal politics and joined Borden's National Government as Minister of Customs. He was a delegate to the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1918. In 1920 he became Secretary of State and a member of the Imperial Privy Council.[69]

It would appear that Sifton left educational matters primarily in the hands of his Ministers of Education. Sifton appointed C.R. Mitchell as Minister of Education in 1910 who served in this capacity until 1912.

Mitchell, like D.S. MacKenzie, his Deputy Minister of Education, also appreciated the efficiency of the British educational system as is evidenced by his remarks in the 1911 Annual Report of the Department of Education:

> To supply the increasing demand, between three and four hundred trained teachers are required yearly to maintain the necessary teaching force of the province, and at least half of these must be obtained from Great Britain and the eastern provinces of Canada.[70]

Due to ill health Mitchell resigned and J.R. Boyle took his place as Minister of Education. The latter served in this capacity from 1912 to 1918. Sifton left educational matters to Boyle whose comments in the Edmonton Bulletin and Edmonton Journal reflect a continuation of the policy followed by Haultain and Rutherford.

Boyle was educated in the public high schools of Sarnia, Ontario, and taught school in Lambton County. In 1895 he joined a law firm in Regina. He was called to the bar in the Northwest Territories in 1899 and was named King's counsel in 1912. In 1905 he was elected to the Alberta Legislature for Sturgeon and was re-elected by acclamation. He was an active member of the International Order of Freemasons and was a staunch Presbyterian.[71]

Like Mitchell, his predecessor, Boyle's major concern was to assimilate the immigrant groups coming into Alberta so that they would appreciate British ideals, values, virtues, and institutions. On September 25, 1913 he indicated that his department was extending the school system as rapidly as humanly possible, and was making every effort to have the schools staffed by certified teachers.[72] A major concern during this time was that New Canadians would accept British ideals, values, and morality. In this regard Boyle was optimistic as evidenced in the 1913 Annual Report:

> An encouraging feature of educational work in this province is the public spiritedness of the citizens. School trustees are, as a rule, public spirited men representing the highest type of citizenship.[73]

In October 1913, in discussing the problems of Canadianizing the foreign settlers, Boyle indicated that there seemed to be a general impression that the government was managing this problem differently than it had been managed before. He stated that this was not the case:

> The policy of Alberta had been to maintain only one standard of equal training for teachers and that system had been quite successful in dealing not only with the English-speaking portion, but also in dealing with the foreign settlement in the province. The people of the foreign settlement were growing up to speak English correctly and fluently.[74]

In March, 1915 Boyle made headlines by stating that "Assimilation not Segregation is Policy Among the Foreign Population".[75] Again he explained that there was one standard for all and this was to be a high quality of education for everyone. He praised Robert Fletcher, Supervisor of Schools Among Foreigners, for his excellent performance in this area. Boyle, like Mitchell, firmly believed education to be the soundest basis for character and moral development. Boyle received assurances in this regard from Fletcher:

> During the period of the war the Ruthenians have remained loyal and industrious. . . . In their native land they did not enjoy the same liberty, opportunity, or freedom of action as they have in their adopted country, and as they are now beginning to understand our institutions, they appreciate them.[76]

The importance of preserving British ideals, values, and morals through appreciation of British institutions is clearly evident. Boyle's love and appreciation for the British Empire is evident in his remarks in the

Annual Report of 1915:

> The teachers of the province have demonstrated their patriotism in a practical way during the year by subscribing liberally to the Patriotic and Red Cross funds, and a large percentage of male teachers have enlisted in His Majesty's Overseas Forces in the present war, and some have made their sacrifices for the British Empire and civilization, and their names are inscribed on Canada's great Honour Roll.[77]

Like Rutherford, he firmly believed education to be the soundest basis for character or moral development. Boyle, like Rutherford before him, continued the curricula established by Haultain and Goggin.[78]

In 1917 Boyle reported to Charles Stewart who took over the leadership of the Liberty Party after Arthur Sifton's resignation. Charles Stewart was born in 1868 at Strabane, Ontario, where he attended public schools. About 1900 he began farming near Killam, Alberta. He was elected by acclamation to the Alberta Legislative Assembly in 1900 as the Liberal member for Sedgwick.

Stewart served in several ministries in 1913 and, on Sifton's resignation, became Premier and Minister of Railways and Telephones.[79] Like Sifton, Stewart left educational matters to his Minister of Education. However, in an address to a teacher's convention in 1918, he urged teachers to be good exemplars of the teaching profession and, in fact, stated that although Christianity could be disputed, it could not be ignored as a vital force in society.[80] He also indicated that he preferred a traditional type of curriculum and not one"dolled up with fads and frills".[81]

In 1918 Stewart appointed G.P. Smith as Minister of Education to replace Boyle. Smith was educated in Ontario. He received a prize for oratory and the Prince of Wales Gold Medal from the Toronto Normal School. He taught in Middlesex County and Toronto and came to Alberta in 1901.[82]

He had been a member of the Alberta Legislative Assembly since 1909.

Smith was a staunch Presbyterian and was President of the Canadian Club which, as noted previously, was known for its strong nationalist and imperialist tendencies. Smith maintained the strong affinity for British ideals and a high regard for morality. He stated in 1918 that the success and progress in education in any school depended largely on the personality, scholarship, and teaching power of the person placed in charge of the pupils. The problem facing educational authorities on this continent, according to Smith, was that of securing services and cooperation of capable teachers for the public school system:[83]

> We must admit that the teaching profession is not attracting a sufficient number of men and women who have reached maturity, and who have ripe scholarship, high ideals, and the power which will inspire the students with an ambition to win their own self-respect, by living up to their ideals of conduct in work and play.[84]

In January, 1919 Smith showed his interest in the welfare of the returned soldiers and indicated that because of their bravery and rare experience they should be sought after to teach the province's younger generation.[85] Provisions for returned soldiers were to include loans sufficient to provide normal school training. The idea, of course, was that returned soldier citizens were to be trained as teachers because it was expected they would inculcate the values of patriotism, high ideals, and loyalty to the British Empire.[86] One notes here the continuing emphasis on morality and character training. Smith indicated that excellent results had already come from recruiting returned soldiers into the teaching force. From the point of view of the state, he indicated, it was good business to have men of such calibre.[87]

In 1919 the Deputy Minister of Education, J.T. Ross, who had

succeeded D.S. MacKenzie, indicated that the lack of male permanency in the teaching profession had been responsible for depriving children a continuity in their studies which would lead to thoroughness and rapid progress.[88] Ross indicated that academic subjects still held the premier position in the school curricula, although increased grants were given for some subjects such as Music, Manual Training, and Domestic Science.[89] In 1919 Ross also argued that the quality of teachers was an essential aspect of the educational system:

> In conclusion I wish to state that legislation provided during the year, for financial assistance and better administration of our schools, has done much to attain a high standard of excellence, but all of these will prove futile unless we can induce our best men and women to enter the teaching profession.[90]

Ross considered that intellectual, moral, and physical development of children must be considered of fundamental importance and that the teacher who has scholarship, teaching power, and personality, will be considered one of the most indispensable members of the community, and will be rewarded by being paid a generous salary. Ross also considered that if the public would recognize faithful and efficient service by more permanency of position, the shortage of trained teachers would be eliminated in a few years.[91] One can still detect a strong emphasis upon morality, ethics, and high standards in the Minister of Education's remarks.[92] Smith and Ross both lamented the gradual elimination of male teachers in the profession because of the strong examples of character building they could offer. In this regard Ross stated in 1920:

> The gradual elimination of the male teacher from the schools is one of the problems that has to be faced by educationalists. The teenage boy should have the leadership and direction of a manly man

> during a few years of his school life, and this will not be possible unless more enter and remain in the profession.[93]

Ross further indicated that the male teacher stood for permanency in the profession while the majority of female teachers were transients.[94] The Department under the Liberal government continued to hold the idealistic position. The molding of students' behaviour into becoming good, moral and responsible citizens was still a prime consideration of the Department of Education up to 1921.

On March 23, 1920 Premier Charles Stewart indicated that more stress in the teaching of the 3 R's was needed. He indicated that he was against dolling up Alberta's primary curricula with any more fads and fancies until "the pupils have a chance to assimilate the feast of learning spread before them".[95] In an address to a teacher's convention in 1920 he referred to the importance of maintaining Christian and ethical values in the schools of Alberta.

In general, therefore, one observes that the values of high ethics, high moral standards, and manly virtues were considered important by the leading educators in the province, Ministers of Education, and Deputy Ministers of Education from 1896 to 1921. A further reflection of the ethical idealist perspective can be found in the comments of the school inspectors in the Annual Reports. Here again Goggin's comments are pertinent.

Throughout Goggin's period (1893-1902) as Superintendent of Education, he urged the teachers to act as living models of virtue before their students and to have students put into classroom practice the principles of virtue they learned. On one occasion Goggin asserted that "the teacher is the main agent in producing a good school".[96] At the

Dominion Educational Association in 1898, he moved the following resolution which was successfully carried:

> Resolved, that this Association recommended that in the engagement of teachers, good moral character, graceful manners, broad and accurate scholarship, and professional skill determine the selection of teachers.[97]

He also indicated that knowledge "valuable as it is in itself is subordinate to discipline and culture".[98] To this end manners and morals were directly studied. A course was given in this subject from 1906 until 1917.

The emphasis on manners and morals is repeated in the Annual Reports from 1906 to 1912:

> It is the duty of the teacher to see that the pupil practises external forms of conduct which express a true sense of the proprieties of life and politeness which denotes a genuine respect for the wants and wishes of others. It is the duty to turn the attention of pupils to the moral quality of their acts and to lead them into a clear understanding of every virtue.[99]

The teacher was also to act as a model in morals and to use suitable narratives to awaken the right feelings. Topics to be discussed included cleanliness, neatness, fidelity in duty, honesty, courage, manners, temperance, and self-control. These values are very traditional and correspond well with the ethical idealist perspective.

School inspectors reiterated these ethical, moral, and religious views especially in terms of their references to values originating from Great Britain. For example, Inspector G.H. Russell of Calgary indicated in 1907 that the teaching of British history was of primary importance. He lamented the fact that it was not taught as well as it should be. Because of the poor teaching of British history many students would not gain respect for British values, ideals, and institutions.[100]

In the 1911 Annual Report one can still detect a strong emphasis upon pro-British ideals and standards. The school inspector for the Macleod area stated emphatically:

> The problem of dealing with foreign children in our schools demand special attention on the part of our teachers. In the first place the teachers must be taught the English language and in the second place a wholesome knowledge of British institutions must be inculcated.[101]

One can detect here that high morals and a strong regard for pro-British standards were seen to go hand in hand.

The 1912 report included the following comment from Inspector J.A. Thibaudeau, "We talk a great deal at conventions of developing character and training for good citizenship but what character are we developing"?[102] In 1914 Chief Inspector Ross suggested a possible solution to the problem of developing character and training for good citizenship:

> The first duty of the school is to develop character in the boys and girls. . . . Manly spirit properly controlled, will be one of the most potent factors in character building in connection with our school system. But it must be under the direction of a capable teacher who will be an example of true manhood.[103]

The role of history in character education also caused concern. In 1917 Inspector C.O. Hicks thought that the main aims in teaching history were the following:

> The principal aims in teaching History in public school are, to present the student in an interesting and attractive manner the story of the British and Canadian people, to develop the imagination of the student, to inculcate love of home and country, and to develop within the boy or girl an ability to discern moral truths and to make generalizations concerning cause and effect.[104]

Even play activities were seen as contributing to the proper development of the child. In his 1917 report, C.O. Hicks was concerned about

the supervision of children's play activities. Hicks suggested to the Department that it should emphasize to the teacher the importance of supervising playtime activities. "By these means", Hicks concluded, "a very valuable aid towards the health, happiness, and moral welfare of the boys and girls would be secured".[105]

It appears that by 1920 some of this advice was being heeded. J.A. Smith, Inspector of High Schools, was pleased to find more interest in the social and moral development of the student:

> The majority of principals realize that those who have the responsibility of organizing and managing a modern high school are compelled to accept the administration of the social activities among the students as a legitimate and regular function of the office, and one full of possibilities for education and character making.[106]

Inspector Thibaudeau of Stettler was also optimistic in this regard when he indicated that teachers were paying more attention to the children in their physical and moral development.[107]

Again the same emphasis on morals and ethics can be seen in the comments of W.A. Stickle in his report on the Provincial Normal School at Camrose in 1920:

> After making full allowance for the energy, the enthusiasm, and the idealism of some of these young fellows, I believe it would be in the interests of the teaching profession and citizenship of the province if teachers were not accepted as teachers-in-training until they were reasonably mature, physically, mentally, and morally.[108]

As these comments illustrate the ethical idealist orientation remained strong until 1921.

In this chapter the writer has endeavoured to trace the extent to which ethical idealism is evident in the Premier's statements, the

Ministers and Deputy Ministers of Education's statements, and in the statements by various inspectors from 1896 to 1921. It was seen that all the ministers and inspectors reflected an ethical idealist perspective and were very much concerned that the values, virtues, and high standards associated with British institutions be transmitted to the students. The teaching methodology was strongly Herbartian and placed a heavy emphasis upon recitation and drill. The teaching methodology is clearly in accord with the tenets of an idealist educator.

FOOTNOTES

[1]G. Max Wingo, Philosophies of Education: An Introduction.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 96.

[4]Ibid., p. 98.

[5]Ibid., p. 97.

[6]Ibid., p. 102.

[7]Ibid., p. 101.

[8]Ernest Hodgson, "The Nature and Purposes of the Public School in the Northwest Territories and Alberta" (Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1964) p. 388.

[9]Stephen P. Duggan, A Student's Textbook in the History of Education (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1916) p. 244.

[10]A.F. Lange & C. De Garmo, Herbart's Outlines of Educational Doctrine (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909) p. 9.

[11]Ibid.

[12]S.P. Duggan, op. cit., p. 247.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid., p. 248.

[15]Ibid., p. 249.

[16]Ibid., p. 250.

[17]Harold B. Dunkel, The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol. 3 (London: Collier MacMillan Publishers, 1981) p. 484.

[18]A.F. Lange & C. de Garmo, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

[19]Ibid., p. 162.

[20]Ibid., p. 164.

[21]J.D. Butler, Four Philosophies and Their Practice in Education and Religion (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1951) p. 255.

[22]Ibid.

[23]H.H. Horne, The Philosophy of Education (London: MacMillan & Company Ltd., 1905) p. 102

[24]J.D. Butler, op. cit., p. 197.

[25]Ibid., p. 233.

[26]Ibid., p. 235.

[27]H.H. Horne, op. cit., pp. 185-186.

[28]Ibid., p. 185.

[29]J.D. Butler, op. cit., p. 256.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Neil G. McDonald, Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity (Gage Educational Publishing Ltd., 1977) p. 83.

[32]M.R. Lupul, The Roman Catholic Church and the Northwest School Question (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1974) p. 82.

[33]W.R. Singleton, The History of Freemasonry, Vol. VII (New York: The Masonic Library Company, 1898) p. 1739.

[34]M.R. Lupul, op. cit., p. 83.

[35]Ibid., pp. 82-83.

[36]R.S. Patterson, "F.W.G. Haultain and Education in the Early West" (Master's Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1961) pp. 106-107.

[37]School Laws and other Educational Matters in Assiniboia, P.E.I., The Northwest Territories and Manitoba (Ottawa Government Printing Bureau, 1894) p. 10.

[38]School Laws, op. cit., p. 12.

[39]Ibid., p. 14.

[40]Ernest Hodgson, op. cit., p. 73.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Neil G. McDonald, "The School as an Agent of Nationalism in the Northwest Territories, 1884-1905" pp. 131-132.

[43]Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Northwest Territories, 1901 p. 104.

[44]Report of the Council of Public Instruction of the Northwest Territories of Canada, 1900 p. 32.

[45]Report of the Council of Public Instruction of the Northwest Territories of Canada, 1896 p. 25.

[46]Report of the Council of Public Instruction of the Northwest Territories of Canada, 1898 pp. 27-28.

[47]Ibid., p. 18.

[48]Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1900 p. 21.

[49]Report of the Council of Public Instruction of the Northwest Territories of Canada, 1898 p. 11.

[50]Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Northwest Territories, 1902 p. 79.

[51]Henry J. Morgan (ed.), The Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto: William Briggs, Richmond Street West, 1912) p. 698.

[52]The Calder Papers, The University of Saskatchewan Archives (The Calder Papers, 1903-1912).

[53]The Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Northwest Territories, 1903 p. 20.

[54]A.D. Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence on Alberta's Educational Program" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1961) p. 106.

[55]Edna Bowen, "The History of the Department of Education" (Unpublished Thesis in the Office of the Deputy Minister of Education) n.d. pp. 2-3.

[56]T.C. Byrne, "The Historical Development of Provincial Leadership of High School Instruction for the Province of Alberta" (D.Ed. Thesis, The University of Colorado, 1956) p. 162.

[57]The Strathcona Plaindealer, Sept. 7, 1906.

[58]Ordinances of the Northwest Territories, Chap. 31, 1901.

[59]A.D. Marzolf, op. cit., p. 106.

[60]Ibid., pp. 106-107.

[61]Ibid., p. 108.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid., p. 109.

[64]The Edmonton Bulletin, May 4, 1908.

[65]Encyclopedia Canadiana, The Grolier Society of Canada Ltd., Vol. 8, 1957, p. 117.

[66]Henry J. Morgan (ed.), The Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto: William Briggs, Richmond St. West, 1912) p. 700.

[67]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1909, p. 14.

[68]Encyclopedia Canadiana, op. cit., p. 306.

[69]Ibid., p. 307.

[70]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1911, p. 16.

[71]Who's Who and Why (Montreal: International Press Ltd., 1918) p. 610.

[72]The Edmonton Bulletin, Sept. 26, 1913.

[73]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1913, p. 12.

[74]The Edmonton Bulletin, Oct. 16, 1913.

[75]The Edmonton Bulletin, Mar. 24, 1915.

[76]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1915, p. 62.

[77]Ibid., p. 10.

[78]Who's Who and Why (Montreal: International Press Ltd., 1918, p. 610.

[79]Encyclopedia Canadiana, The Grolier Society of Canada Ltd., Vol. 9, 1957, p. 405.

[80]Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs (Toronto: The Canadian Annual Review Ltd., 1919) p. 705.

[81]The Edmonton Bulletin, March 23, 1920.

[82]Encyclopedia Canadiana, op. cit., p. 405.

[83]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1918, p. 11.

[84]Ibid.

[85]The Edmonton Bulletin, March 25, 1919.

[86]The Edmonton Journal, Feb. 12, 1919.

[87]The Edmonton Journal, April 14, 1919.

[88]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1918, p. 11.

[89]Ibid., p. 13.

[90]Ibid., p. 14.

[91]Ibid.

[92]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1920, p. 7.

[93]Ibid., p. 15.

[94]Ibid.

[95]The Edmonton Bulletin, March 23, 1920.

[96]Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1896, p. 17.

[97]Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1898, p. 62.

[98]Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1896, p. 29.

[99]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1906, p. 92.

[100]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1907, p. 45.

[101]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1911, p. 75.

[102]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1912, p. 49.

[103]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1914, p. 24.

[104]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1917, p. 99.

[105]Ibid.

[106]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1920, p. 21.

[107]Ibid., p. 98.

[108]Ibid., p. 58.

Chapter III

An Analysis of the Social Studies Curriculum and Texts, 1896-1921

In this chapter two major topics relating to the theme of ethical idealism and its relationship to schooling will be discussed. The first concerns the Social Studies curricula followed in the period from 1896 to 1921, and the second concerns the texts used in the Social Studies curricula. The purpose of the discussion will be to determine the extent to which the ethical idealist orientation that characterized the educational pronouncements of political leaders and senior educational officials was manifested in these two school program sources. Two main curriculum guides will be examined, namely, the Programme of Studies of 1896 and the Programme of Studies of 1912. The departmental guide of 1986, over a hundred pages in length, contains course outlines for Standards I to VIII, a list of prescribed texts, and copies of departmental examinations. The departmental guide of 1912, approximately fifty pages, contains a course outline for Grades I to XII and a list of prescribed texts for each grade. The Annual Reports of the Department of Education contain sections on examinations given during this period.[1]

In the discussion that follows the Social Studies guides will be reviewed in terms of three major topics: History, Geography, and Civics. The history curriculum for 1896 and 1921 will be discussed in terms of the following sections: 1) History-Standards II to VIII and 2) History Grades V, VII, and VIII, and History-Grades IX, X, and XII.

As noted in the previous chapter, Goggin had been Principal of the Manitoba Normal School and was regarded as a noted educational expert

there and in his home province of Ontario. In 1893 Goggin assumed the positions of the Principal of the Normal School and Superintendent of Education in the Northwest Territories. Indeed, Goggin wrote the first twenty-nine pages of the Programme of 1896, a document that reflected a decided ethical idealist orientation. His views on the role of history are clearly outlined in the preamble to the programme:

> One use of history is to teach patriotism and civic duty. Also, if properly taught, it affords a first rate kind of citizenship training, arouses a love for reading and gives a sound method of study.[2]

The history curriculum of 1896 reflected Goggin's views on its function. No instruction in history was prescribed for Standard I. In Standard II the teacher was to discuss the lives of such important explorers and statesmen as Columbus, Cabot, Cartier, LaSalle, Wolfe, MacKenzie and Sir John A. MacDonald. The children were encouraged to form judgments on the morality of the acts of these people. Their careers were examined in order to teach moral discrimination and, ultimately, to help the pupils to derive principles of conduct.[2] Studying historical characters in order to derive correct principles of behaviour is in line with an ethical idealist education. Similarly in Standard III a number of notable characters in English history were studied, including Julius Caesar, William I, Simon de Montfort, Wolsey, Cromwell, Wellington, and Lord John Russell. Again, the careers of these historical personalities were examined in order to train the students in moral judgment and to teach patriotism and civic duty.[3] Mention is made in the guide with respect to the process of memory training:

> The judgments arrived at by students might be useless, but the process involved in arriving at them gave the youngsters practical experience in judging right and wrong.[4]

It was important that training in moral judgment occur in Standards II and III since a large percentage of students in the Northwest Territories did not go beyond the third level. The objectives of history in those early years were also indicated in the Report of the Council of Public Instruction of 1896:

> A study of the lives of these men who have made our country what it will tend to teach our pupils to have high aims. A knowledge of the struggles through which the country has passed in attaining its present condition will make for intelligent patriotism.[5]

Egerton Ryerson, who developed the compulsory school sytem in Canada West in the 1840s, had claimed that "Biography should form the principal topics of elementary history."[6] Goggin and Haultain's views on the teaching of history were very much in keeping with Ryerson's views.

Standards IV and V required the elementary student to take a more formal approach to the history of Canada and England. They were asked to compare the constitutional struggles in England with those in Canada as well as to examine the process of government in both countries. It was expected that these events would make for intelligent patriotism.[7] The 1896 Programme of Studies, for example, stated that the History of England in Standard IV was designed to provide students with:

> An outline of each people or period to exhibit its chief characteristics e.g.--a farmer people; brought with them the germs of our political institutions--a limited monarchy, parliament, courts of justice, personal holdings of land gave us the body of our English tongue, became Christians by choice.[8]

In Standard V the following topics were outlined for Canadian history:

> An intelligent comparison of the prescribed text, comparison of constitutional struggles in Canada with corresponding ones in England; an outline study of how we are governed--parliamentary,

> judicial, municipal and school systems; our civic duties--voting, office holding, tax paying, support of law, etc.[9]

In keeping with the principles of ethical idealism a knowledge of constitutional struggles in Britain and Canada was considered a means to inspire students to have high ideals and to be true to them.

In English History in Standard IV the text was studied as a review and expansion of the topics discussed previously. The teacher was to group the essential facts in each period under topics that indicated the phases of progressive growth in each country. For example, the political, industrial, intellectual, and religious development of Britain was studied in order to show the country's growth. It is to be noted that the development of a religious consciousness was considered to be vitally important. Again this would allow the teacher to deal with moral lessons and to emphasize high ideals and standards.[10]

In high school, Standards VI to VIII, the history of England and Canada was reviewed and the constitution of each was examined in much greater detail. The entire high school history programme was completely dominated by English and Canadian studies. It was not until Standard VIII or the final year that the student was introduced to world history, and then it was studied from a comparative imperial perspective.[11] For example, on departmental examinations, it was customary to ask questions on Spartan, Athenian or Roman forms of government with an account of the circumstances leading to their demise. Although earlier empires were seen to have aspects of good and evil, it was implied that their downfall was predictable because of the prevalence of the latter. However, the curriculum indicated that the British Empire was not expected to suffer this fate because of its unique form of government and the general virtues

and progress of the British people. A new curriculum guide as well as a guide structure was introduced in the 1912 Revision. In the preamble to the 1912 history section, the guide makes reference to a definition of history:

> The common conception of history is that it is a chronicle of events marking the general progress of mankind. This progress is concerned with material, art, religion, and with social and political institutions. The right teaching of history takes account of it ultimately as a study of the institutional life of a people or the progress of the social whole rather than as a chronicle of the doings of individuals, but as those who are connected with their progress, history resolves itself into a study of the institutional life of the race concretely set forth in the ideas of its men and women.[12]

Up to the beginning of the fifth grade the story and the romantic side of history were given prominence. Stories of home life, of other lands and peoples, fables, myths, and tales of Greece and Rome, Bible characters, and historical pictures were considered to be the foundation of history.

Because the place relation was considered to precede the time relations in a child's mind, maps were to be freely used in the teaching of history in the early years of schooling. Geography was also seen as an important aid to history in the 1912 Course of Study. Goggin had always felt that there should be a close relation between the teaching of history and geography.[13] Thus this view did not differ from the pre-1912 curriculum.

From Grade V on in history, a grasp of the time relation, the study of motives, cause and effect and judgments concerning the appropriateness of man's activities were gradually to replace the story and the picturesque side of the subject. The state was to emerge ultimately as the most virtuous of human institutions, and loyalty to the state was

deemed to be the first virtue in the citizen. The dates on which important national events occurred such as Dominion, Paardeburg, Trafalgar, and Empire Day were to be marked by special patriotic exercises, including displaying the imperial flag, and other symbols.[14]

In Grade V there was more emphasis upon local and provincial history than in the previous elementary standards. However, in the section dealing with the Canadian West, students were to examine the importance of the Northwest Mounted Police, and how they brought law, order, and higher ideals to the region. In addition great explorers of the Canadian West such as Hearne, Henday, MacKenzie, Fraser and Thompson were studied with a view to showing their defects and excellences of character.[15]

In Grade VII the class was to spend time learning the geographical location of Great Britain in order to gain some idea of Britain's greatness and her long history. The students were to learn the essential materials that led to the foundation of the British nation. This included a study of the coming of Christianity, and the coming of the Danes and the Normans. This would allow the teacher to train the students in moral judgment since some of the topics lent themselves to this kind of study. Again such topics as the "Knights", "the Crusades", "Simon de Montfort" and "John Wycliffe" would allow the teacher to train the students in moral judgment and to help them derive principles of conduct.[16]

The Tudor, Stuart, and Hanoverian periods were the principal topics in Grade VIII. The students were to review the greatness of the British Empire and the privileges they had gained as citizens of the Empire. The values, virtues and high ideals that characterized the British Empire were examined in depth.[17] This again would allow the teacher to train the students in moral judgment by providing them with appropriate examples of conduct.

It can be seen that training the students in moral judgment was considered to be vitally important at the elementary level in history. Thus it is reasonable to conclude that the philosophy of ethical idealism still persisted in the 1912 curriculum.

The nature of the high school program in the revision of 1912 was substantially the same as in 1896. British and Canadian history were studied in Grades IX and X and Canadian and general history were studied in Grades XI and XII. The superiority of the British Empire was reflected in the high school history courses as these questions from the departmental examinations of 1912 indicate:

1) "King Alfred is one of the world's great men." Discuss this statement with reference to the King as soldier and statesman. (Grade IX examination question)[18]

2) Four great Acts or Charters, viz: Charter of Liberties, Magna Charta, Petition of Rights, and the Bill of Rights represent the basis of English liberties. Sketch the circumstances under which each was wrung from the sovereign of the day. Give the provisions of one of them. (Grade X examination question)[19]

3) Compare the monarchical with the republican form of government noting the strong features and defects of each. (Grade XI examination question)

4) What physical conditions in England made it possible for her to become a great manufacturing country? With these in mind write an estimate of the possibilities of Western Canada as a manufacturing centre of the future. (Grade XII examination question)[20]

It must be remembered that the virtues, genius, and liberties of the British Empire were examined in depth. Training in moral judgment was expected to occur through understanding of the rise of British institutions and the principals who fostered this development.

The Geography program for Standards I to V, according to the 1906 guide, focussed on the physical features of the land, including a study of continents, mountains, water, wind, ocean currents, drainage and other factors or concepts. In Standard IV the physical geography of Canada, and particularly the Northwest Territories, was emphasized.[21]

No direct evidence of ethical idealism can be found in the curricular guides, but in How to Study Geography (1888), F.W. Parker indicates that this was to be the basic orientation of the course:

> The structure, climate and inferior forms of life explain the life and growth of man up to the stage in which his enhanced intellectual and moral development enables him to turn upon nature and make it his instructor and servant.
>
> One direct ethical outcome of the knowledge of Geography is to soften and restrain the otherwise harsh judgments indicated by the absolute rules of human conduct. The quality of mercy is just a sequence of a comprehension of the circumstances which make men what they are. We tolerate the low, base, and degrading in human beings, who are made what they are by unfavourable natural environments without the elevating influences of right human teaching.[22]

Standards V to VIII in Geography dealt mainly with world geography and of the British Empire and Canada in particular. It was considered desirable that some continuity from the elementary geography be maintained at the high school level and thus Parker's text, How to Study Geography, remained a basic teacher reference.

Grade VI Geography concentrated on the British Empire. Students were to gain a thorough background and knowledge of Britain's surface features, climate, production, people, and activities. They were also to understand how Britain gained commercial supremacy in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Grade VII Geography included a study of

British possesions. The students were to know and understand the political relations of the Imperial Government. Grade VIII was a general review of the topics of the previous grades with a considerable amount of attention being given to the values and standards of the British Empire.[23] Thus, it can be seen that the philosophy of ethical idealism still persisted in the 1912 Elementary Programme of Studies.

The high school courses covered much the same content outlined in the 1896 Programme of Studies. Special attention was given to the British dependencies, including their resources, production, chief cities, and peoples. The trade relations of Great Britain and Canada, and that of Canada and the United States were also examined.[24] At the high school level Parker's How to Study Geography was not used as a text. It is, however, true that Great Britain and Canada featured prominently in the geography courses at this level and that the influence of an ethical idealist perspective is evident throughout this period.

Until the 1912 revision, Civics Grades I to VIII and Grade XI Civics had been incorporated with the history curriculum. The 1912 Civics Programme of Studies provided a general introduction to the new program:

> All school work should convince the child of the advantages of order and government. School training is essentially a training for Citizenship.[25]

The 1912 guide indicated that class organization was considered to bring about a sense of community and the administration of the school was seen as a means of developing regard for the authority. Among the subjects of instruction, history and literature were considered to show the development of government in that they often referred to accounts of those who

had advanced the principle of national liberty. Literature was considered to idealize the qualities that made men great. Such a view was in keeping with the concept of training in moral judgment and the tenets of ethical idealism. Civics was considered to deal particularly with the duties of citizenship. It provided the special training and information that would fit the child for public and corporate duties. It was commenced formally with study of existing institutions, rather than with their growth, as well as with the study of privileges and responsibilities of the citizens with respect to institutions. Mention was also made in the 1912 Programme of Studies on the importance of role models in Civics instruction:

> In addition to the benefit of the citizens of knowing the character of the institutions affecting his life, the study of civics should develop public spirit and inspire to useful public service through the example of public men whose work is brought within the understanding and appreciation of the pupil.[26]

It can be deduced from the above that the study of leading citizens would help in moral training and in character development. Through the examples of leading statesmen the students would be inspired to emulate their conduct as well as to strive for the best they could do for their nation, province, and community.

Informal civics, or that part of civics that could be taught without a textbook was taught from Grades I to VI. In the first six grades the family and the school were studied as social units. Children were taught to obey their parents. The school was later studied as a unit of public organization. The students were to develop a sense of industry, control, courtesy, community sense, and obligation as well. Further students were to transfer the obedience learnt at home to the school. These were the main objectives of the civics programme during the first six grades.

Formal Civics was taught in Grades VII, VIII, and XI, but no Civics was taught in Grades IX,X, and XII. Students in Grade VII were to learn the duties and organization of the Board of School Trustees. In addition, the students would learn how trustees were elected and mock elections of trustees would be conducted in the classroom. The students also learned about the organization of their community including the functions of the Mayor and Aldermen. From this course it was expected that the student should gain respect for leaders in his community, learn respect for democracy, and perhaps even become involved in community affairs.[27] Formal Civics in Grade VIII dealt with provincial and federal matters including the study of the organization of the House of Commons, the Senate and the Courts. Students also learned about the varying forms of national governments such as Constitutional Monarchies, Despotisms, Republics,and Patriarchial governments. It was considered that through this course students would gain a better appreciation of government, democracy, and good citizenship.[28]

The Grade XI Civics course covered essentially the same material as the Grade VIII course except that it was taught in a thorough and comprehensive way. J.G. Bourinot's How Canada is Governed was the teacher's reference text in Grades VII and VIII.[29] In Grade XI it became the prescribed student text.

The very idea of a Civics course is in accord with what educational idealists would see as a worthy programme of study. The students learned obedience, respect for tradition, customs, and the transmission of culture. Such orientations were held in great respect by ethical idealist educators.

The Social Studies guides for 1896, 1906 and 1920 manifested an ethical idealist orientation and strong pro-British emphasis. Much of the

content and methodology outlined in the Social Studies guides was based upon the textbooks that were prescribed for the three subject areas.

In the discussion that follows the Social Studies texts will be examined in terms of three sections: 1) History--Standards III, IV, VI, and VIII (Grades V, VII, IX, and XI), 2) Civics--Standards VII (Grade XI), 3) Geography--Standards IV, VI, and VII (Grades VII, IX, and X). Although these do not include all the grade ranges in which these subjects were taught, they give a reasonably complete picture of the content taught. Note should be made that the 1912 revision did not lead to a list of prescribed texts. It was not until 1921 that new texts were introduced for the Social Studies curriculum. The texts in History were selected for examination because they were referred to in the list of prescribed texts in the Council of Public Instruction Guide of 1896 or in the 1912 Programme of Studies. Unfortunately not all the texts are extant from the 1896-1920 period. Approximately forty percent of the prescribed textbooks were available for review. It was, therefore, necessary to use these even though they are sometimes not as fully representative as one would want.

History--Standards III, IV, VI, and VIII (Grades V, VII, IX and XI)

The British side of History was particularly emphasized in Standard III as one can see by a review of the prescribed texts for this level from 1908 until 1921. One of the texts was entitled Highroads of History (1908, Book V) in the Royal School Series.[30] It concentrated on the Tudor and Stuart periods from 1485 to 1688. At the end of the text there was a lengthy summary of events with corresponding dates in British, Scottish, and Irish History. The story of Henry VIII was a special feature. It showed how Henry VIII became the head of the Church of England and how he argued against the Church of Rome. It also demonstrated the

high ideals and character of Thomas Wolsey III who was charged with treason for not agreeing with Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine.[31] With such material it was expected that teachers would have the means to train the students in moral judgment.

In addition to the dates and events that were to be learned by rote, there were numerous poems for recitation at the end of the textbook, including "Wolsey's Fall", "The Armada", "The Pilgrim Fathers" and "The Song of the Western Men".[32] One can thus see that at the Standard III level the typical textbook used in teaching History dealt with the virtues of outstanding members of the British Empire. The rote-like approach to learning is in accordance with the educational idealist's view of teaching and learning.

The idealist perspective can still be observed in the textbooks after the 1912 revision. In Grade VII (formerly Standard IV) British supremacy was emphasized in the textbook Highroads of History (1912, Book III) in Royal School Series. It was noted that during King George's reign, Canada and the rest of the Mississippi River belonged to Britain. Captain James Cook's voyages were studied mainly to show how he gained territory in Australia and New Zealand thereby enlarging the Empire. Morality was also emphasized. The text frequently emphasized what can be achieved when actions are prompted or guided by moral standards and virtue. Wilberforce's efforts in freeing the slaves was cited as having been prompted by the morality inherent in his evangelical faith. Morality and high ideals were also emphasized in the stories about Lord Shaftesbury as the children's friend. Shaftesbury is credited with having done much for the factory children who were underfed and overworked. Later in his life he helped to start the so-called ragged schools for the children

of the poor and by the 1890's, according to the narrative, his efforts had helped achieved a free and compulsory school system.[33]

The textbook used in History at the secondary level in Grade IX (formerly Standard VI) was Buckley and Robertson's High School History of England and Canada (1906). In the book's preface the authors note the purpose of the text:

> While giving as far as possible the chief facts required by students, I have been especially anxious to present a vivid picture of the life, the difficulties, and the achievements of our ancestors, showing how our laws, our constitution, our trade and colonies have arisen. If this sketch opens the way to the study of more comprehensive histories, leading those growing up into citizens of a widespread empire to take a lively interest in the past, present, and future of our nation, it will have done its work.[34]

At the same time the importance of teaching history by a factual approach is stressed:

> It is necessary in school teaching that dates and facts should be firmly rooted in the memory, I have endeavoured, with the help of Ransone's admirable OUTLINES, so to arrange the Table of Contents at the beginning of the volume that it may offer a clear abstract of the facts of each chapter, and also serve as Chronological Table, giving the dates in their due succession.[35]

Three quarters of the text dealt with Britain and its history while only one quarter (eighty pages) refers to Canadian history. Robertson indicated that "as to the part dealing with Canada no attempt has been made to give a full and complete picture of the events that occur in our history".[36] The leading events were sketched leaving the task of giving important details to the teacher.

At the beginning of Buckley and Robertson's text, a chart was provided that indicated the sovereigns of England since the Norman Conquest.

Ten maps were provided, but there were no illustrations. The first section arranged the contents in chronological order. The emphasis on dates and events and the memorization of the same is equally apparent at the high school level as it was at the elementary. The text dealt with the period from the Norman Conquest to the expansion of England, including the Hanoverians, the independence of the American colonies, the French Revolution, and England and her colonies.[37]

Topics in the Canadian section included the early settlement of Canada, Canada under French rule, the foundation of the Canadian constitution, the War of 1812, the Rebellions of 1837-38, the struggles for Responsible Government, Confederation, and Canada from 1867 until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1886.[38]

The expansion of the British Empire is also clearly indicated in Buckley's outline:

> Stanley's discoveries in the Congo region are leading to great results in extending trade, commerce, and civilization. Surely there is every encouragement to lead the English-speaking race to look forward hopefully to the future.[39]

The watchword for the citizen was "England Expects Every Man to do His Duty". As for Canada, Robertson remarked:

> With her many resources of soul, forest, and mines, her strong, vigorous, and healthy people, and her free system of education and her form of government, Canada surely promises the potency of a great nation.[40]

The factual approach to the teaching of History can be observed by the general appearance and structure of Buckley and Robertson's text and in the authors' prefatory remarks.

Grade XI (formerly Standard VII) history was basically a general history of the world to the close of the Medieval period. The textbook

used in this grade was P.V. Myers' General History (1889). Several quotations at the beginning of Myers' text help one gain a better understanding of its approach and intent:

> The real history of the human race is the history of tendencies which are perceived by the mind, and not events which are discovered by the senses. -- Buckley [41]

> Historical facts should not be a burden to the memory but an illumination of the soul. -- Lord Acton[42]

> But history ought surely in some degree if it is worth anything, to anticipate the lessons of time. We shall all no doubt be wiser after the event; we study history that we may be wise before the event. -- Seeley[43]

The general structure and appearance of Myers' text is not unlike the Grade IX text of Buckley and Robertson's referred to earlier. However, in the revised version of 1906, Myers made use of coloured maps, new illustrations, and a more extensive bibliography. Facts were still emphasized, but greater analysis is given as to why students should memorize them, namely that facts were not to burden the memory but to illuminate the mind.

Myers' text stresses to an even greater degree the future greatness of the British Empire:

> The inspiring destiny of England which Professor Seeley read in her past and present history is Imperial Federation, -- that is, a great federal union extending the Motherland and her colonies, organized after the model of the United States of America.[44]

Myers also indicates the growth of the British Empire by such topics as England in Asia, England in South Africa, England in Egypt, and England in Australia and New Zealand. As Professor Seeley indicated it is a favourable maxim "that history, while it should be scientific in its

methods, should pursue a practical object".[45] Seeley's moral emphasis was also noted:

> History should not merely gratify the readers' curiousity about the past but should modify the readers' view about the present and the forecast of the future. That is if this maxim be saved, the history of England ought to end with something that might be called a moral.[45]

The essential point to be made with reference to the contents of this Grade XI text is that all these periods of history were studied from a comparative and imperial perspective. The central message was the superiority of the British Empire over any other.[46] The emphasis with respect to methodology in teaching history was clearly that the students were to learn a basic body of knowledge in general history. This knowledge and the transmission of the same was considered to be fundamental in that students were to know the past so that they would be able to make better decisions in the present and in the future. This is clearly in line with the educational idealist's view of education referred to previously.

Civics-Standard VII and Grade XI

Civics was closely related to the study of history. J.G. Bourinot's, How Canada is Governed, was the Civics textbook used in Standard VII and in Grade XI from 1895 until the mid-1930's.[47] There were some illustrations to brighten up the narrative but there was, nevertheless, a fair emphasis upon a factual learning of the content. There was also a heavy emphasis upon the British Empire and the values it represented. Bourinot makes this orientation clear:

> I have attempted to make this citizen's manual as complete as possible within the limited space at my disposal. I have borne in mind the fact that a Canadian is not merely a citizen of Canada, and as such has duties and obligations to discharge within the Dominion and Province, but that he is

> also a citizen of the greatest and noblest empires that the world has ever seen.[48]

Thus one of the most important parts of the book was devoted to a brief account of the onerous functions of Sovereign who, through her national councils, executive and legislative, administered the affairs of Great Britain and her many colonies and dependencies.[49]

That Canada was subject to the British Empire was clearly evident in the remarks in Bourinot's preface. One can observe that Canadians owed their loyalty not only to Canada but more importantly to the British Empire. That Canada was portrayed as a nation in its infancy or as a colony is also evident in Bourinot's comments:

> (Canadians). . . . ought to think deeply on the problems of government which are everyday presenting themselves for solution, and should be encouraged to perform their full share in the active affairs of a Dominion yet in the early stages of its national life.[50]

Bourinot indicated that the Dominion of Canada was but a part of one of the most remarkable empires known in the history of the world:

> Its government, though complete within itself, is necessarily dependent on and subordinate to the supreme authority of Great Britain where King and Parliament have jurisdiction over the whole empire.[51]

The provinces and territories of Canada were considered to be closely connected by a political system called a federal union. It had been given the name of a Dominion because it formed one of the dominions subject to the government of the King and Parliament of England. For a text that was mainly on Canadian Civics, the emphasis on the British Empire is considered worthy of other school studies material. The values and virtues associated with the British Empire are consistent with the values of an ethical idealist educator.

Geography-Standards IV, VI, and VII (Grades VII, IX and X).

A review of the Geography texts in Standard IV or Grade VII and Standards VI and VII or Grades IX and X will be made in order to determine the extent to which an ethical idealist orientation is manifested.

F.W. Parker's text, How to Study Geography (1889), was used in the teaching of elementary Geography during this period. In the book's introduction one can detect traces of an ethical idealist perspective. Mention is made that man "was made for man, and his one God-like function is to take the knowledge from eternity of truth and put it into the eternity of human life".[52] Parker considered that one of the direct ethical outcomes of this knowledge was to soften and restrain the otherwise harsh judgments dictated by rules of human conduct. The quality of mercy was considered to be just a sequence of circumstances which made men what they were. Man, according to Parker, tolerated the base, the low, and degrading in human beings, who were made what they were by unfortunate and unfavourable environments without the elevating influence of right human teaching.[53] On the other hand, knowledge of Geography was considered to create a great reverence for man's prolonged struggle to overcome the obstacles which have been placed in his pathway of progress. According to Parker, Geography was the study directly related to morality and ethics:

> Geography explains and illuminates history; by it, laws, tendencies, and motives are understood; through it, we learn to be merciful in regard to human weaknesses, and to appreciate all efforts in the right direction. To know the world is to love the world. Some comprehension of the causes and effects of truth and error, which are everywhere acting and reacting upon man, the perception of that divine love moves in all and controls all, creates in a true ideal of life and living.[54]

Parker considered that to know and to love the whole world was to become subjectively integrated with all human life and living. The resulting emotion was considered to arouse the only true patriotism, the patriotism that makes the world and all its children one's own land and nation. According to Parker, Geography was considered to be one essential means of bringing the individual soul to an appreciation of the universal and eternal:

> The study of geography, elementary and scientific, cultivates, systematically, the faculty of imagination and the products of this faculty arouse and develop at every step, emotions of beauty that culminate in the emotions of grandeur. Gradually under skillful teaching, hills, mountains, and plains, oceans and continents are united in one sublime image of the world. No one can study real geography without a deeper reverence and adoration of Him whose thoughts are expressed by the universe.[55]

Thus the so-called practical uses of Geography, knowledge of commerce, trade and the like, fell into their proper place and highest use to the degree to which the one motive of man's broadest development was kept in view. Parker considered this to be the function of the study of Geography. He concluded his lengthy introduction as follows:

> To the teacher who stands facing even a glimmer of glory which the grandest law of human action reflect, comes the divine inspiration that leads him to turn the eager faces of the children to the blessed light of truth.[56]

At the Grade VII level (or Standard IV) in Geography Parker provided teachers with the following guidelines:

> 1) Lead pupils to discover the facts and to trace relations from effect to cause and from cause to effect. 2) Begin the study of plant distribution in the elementary lessons in botanical classification, and extend the work to include the staple vegetable products. 3) Base the study of animal

> distribution upon instruction in elementary Zoology, and other minerals upon instruction in elementary mineralogy.[57]

It must be remembered that the teacher was to teach all of the elementary Geography with the basic idealist assumption that the teaching of real Geography would lead to a greater reverence for God. The ethical idealist's point of view was further underlined by Parker's summary statement in the introduction:

> The book here presented by the teachers, can from the very nature of human growth, and unlimited possibilities of human perfection only be part of the truth, and the truth much mixed with error. The author had boundless faith in better things for the children of men. "Now we see through a glass darkly, but then Face to Face."[58]

G.A. Chase's, High School Geography (1904), used in Grade X (formerly Standard VI), contained examples of the importance of morality and praise for Great Britain:

> Government assumes many terms in principle or in detail, but that form is best which while protecting and aiding the individual physically, morally, and intellectually, leaves him with the widest freedom of thought, speech and action, consistent with the welfare of the community or state in which he lives.[59]

Chase further indicated that no government aside from Great Britain gives such personal "freedom of thought, speech, and action as those who seek so successfully to elevate people of a lower civilization".[60]

Morang's Complete Geography (1908) was used in Grade XI (formerly Standard VII). This text is even more pro-British than Chase's. Referring to the growth and extent of the British Empire, Morang observed:

> From small beginnings the British Empire has spread until today it stands the first among the nations of the world, first in area and

> population, first in wealth and power. Its dominions include over one-fifth of the land surface of the globe; its inhabitants make up one-fourth of the total number of people in the world.[61]

In a moral or ethical vein he went on to state:

> Of the whole population of the Empire only about 60,000,000 are of British birth. This imposes upon the Empire a great obligation, which is being faithfully met. Everywhere that the British people have gone the benefits of civilization have followed. The subject nations have been governed for the uplifting of the people themselves; their laws and customs in all cases have been respected except where it has been necessary, for the sake of humanity, to put down some barbarous custom.[62]

In speaking of government Morang indicated that since the American Revolution, which resulted in the loss of the thirteen colonies, the policy of Great Britain has been to allow the utmost freedom in matters of government. He further indicated that some of the larger colonies, such as Canada, Australia, Cape Colony, and Newfoundland, were involved with matters that concerned the Empire as a whole.

According to the Geography texts the British Empire had an obligation to help people in the colonies. Everywhere that the British people had gone the benefits of civilization had followed. Britain's effect on other nations was a moral one, that is, the subject nations had been governed with a view to uplifting the people themselves. In addition the British Empire was considered to be a good example for other nations. In the Geography texts of this period Great Britain was portrayed as a leading nation not only with respect to size and wealth, but also to tolerance and individual liberty. Great Britain was considered to have a form of government that protected and aided the citizen physically, morally, and intellectually. It also was a tolerant nation in that the citizen had

the widest freedom of thought, speech, and action. In addition the British Empire had sought successfully to elevate peoples of a lower civilization who had come under its control. The moral responsibility of the British Empire was emphasized consistently.

The elementary Geography was directly in accord with the ethical idealist orientation. A knowledge of Geography was considered to create a great reverence for the prolonged struggle to overcome the obstacles which had been placed in man's pathway of progress.

History texts had a similar orientation. It was considered that the study of prominent Canadian and English figures would tend to teach students to have high aims and to be true to these aims. Although earlier empires had aspects of good and evil, their downfall was predictable because of the prevalence of the latter. However, the British Empire was not expected to suffer this fate because of its unique form of government and the general virtues of the British people. Above all, however, two main developments of British history were stressed, since through them Britain had most profoundly affected the rest of the world. First, there was the growth of the British Empire and which, based on the principles of law and liberty, was so great an actual and potential force in the modern world. Second, there was the story of the growth of British political liberty, how in England, first of all countries, Parliament grew up and won supremacy, how the Cabinet system had evolved as its executive instrument, how political parties evolved, how the franchise had been given to the masses in successive reform bills, and how finally this democratic, parliamentary and cabinet system of government had been copied with various modifications, by most self-governing states throughout the world. Students were to take a just pride in their citizenship in

the British Empire, but such pride was not to be founded on mere victories over other states or people. It was to be founded rather on the fact that, on the whole, the British people had stood throughout their long history for freedom and justice in the world and that they had made great and enduring contributions to man's advancement and welfare.

From an examination of a selected number of History, Geography and Civics guides and texts it is evident that these materials reflected an ethical idealist orientation. The history guides and texts also showed an overriding concern with moral development. Important figures in British and Canadian history were studied in order that the students could make moral judgments on their actions and then derive principles of conduct. The emphasis on British ideals and moral development was also evident in the Civics texts. The purpose of this course was not only to make good patriotic and moral citizens, but to develop respect for the British Empire and its political institutions.

It is clearly evident that the selected Social Studies texts examined reflected an ethical idealist perspective in that high ideals, morality, and the development of patriotic citizens were the authors' primary concerns.

The main methods of teaching advocated were the lecture method, dictation and responses to factual questions. There was little time given to research, discussion, debate or group work. The method of teaching was consistent with what idealist educators considered the best way of teaching and learning, viz., the mental discipline method wherein book learning, classical logic, memorization and rote learning featured prominently.

In subsequent chapters the author will review the philosophical orientations of political leaders and educators in Alberta from 1921 to 1935 as a background to a discussion on this period's selected Social Studies guides and texts.

FOOTNOTES

[1]A.D. Selinger, "The Contribution of D.J. Goggin to the Development of Education in the Northwest Territories, 1893-1902" (M. Ed. Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1960) p. 10.

[2]Programme of Studies for the Schools of the Northwest Territories, Appendix A, July 1896, p. 4.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1896, p. 22.

[5]Ibid., p. 23.

[6]J.H. Putman, Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada (Toronto: William Briggs & Co. Ltd., 1912) p. 116.

[7]Report of the Council of Public Instruction, Appendix A, Programme of Studies, 1896, p. 7.

[8]Ibid., p. 5.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1900, p. 71.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Report of the Department of Education of the Northwest Territories, 1901, p. 38.

[14]Course of Studies for the Public Schools in Alberta, 1912, p. 28.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid., pp. 29-30.

[17]Ibid.

[18]The Annual Report of the Alberta Department of Education, 1912, p. 174.

[19]Ibid., p. 184.

[20]Ibid., p. 223.

[21]Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1896, Appendix A, Programme of Studies, p. 7.

[22]Francis W. Parker, How to Study Geography (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1901) pp. XIX-XX.

[23]Course of Studies for the Public Schools in Alberta, 1912, p. 146.

[24]The Annual Report of the Alberta Department of Education, 1912, p. 146.

[25]Course of Studies for Public Schools in Alberta, 1912, p. 31.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid., p. 32.

[29]Ibid., p. 34.

[30]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1909, p. 33.

[31]Highroads of History, the Royal School Series, Book V, Tudor & Stuart (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1908) pp. 50-52.

[32]Ibid., pp. 263-281.

[33]Highroads of History, The Royal School Series, Book III, Britons of Renown (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1912) pp. 146-148.

[34]G.D. Buckley and F. Robertson "High School History of England and Canada (The Copp-Clark Co., 1898) p. 147.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Philip V.N. Myers, General History (New York: Ginn and Company, 1889) p. vi.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid., p. 747.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid., pp. 617-620.

[47]J.G. Bourinot, How Canada is Governed (Toronto: The Copp-Clark Company Ltd., 1895) p. v.

[48]Ibid., pp. v-vi.

[49]Ibid., p. vi.

[50]Ibid., p. vii.

[51]Ibid., p. 319.

[52]F.W. Parker, How to Study Geography (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1889) p. xvii.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid., p. xx.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid., p. xxi.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Ibid., p. xxxv.

[59]G.A. Chase, High School Geography (Toronto: Canadian Publishing Company, 1904) p. 462.

[60]Ibid.

[61]John C. Saul, A Complete Geography (Toronto: Morang Educational Co. Ltd., 1905) p. 455.

[62]Ibid., p. 456.

Chapter IV

Philosophical Orientations of Political Leaders and Educators in Alberta, 1921-1935

As shown in Chapter II the prevailing and ethical orientation of Haultain and his successors from the 1890's to the beginning of the 1920's influenced educational pronouncements in Alberta. It was shown that this orientation was generally present during this time in the Social Studies curriculum and related texts.

Although the ethical idealist' view remained dominant in the early part of this century, other points of view began to develop that tended to influence Alberta's educational system in the 1920s and 1930s. These had their origins to a significant extent in two developing systems. The first related to a philosophical viewpoint known as pragmatism, and the second to a form of Christian thought and practice known as the Social Gospel. Some of these pragmatic and social gospel orientations influenced the theories and practices of the United Farmers of Alberta (U.F.A.), a social and political group led by Henry Wise Wood, that subsequently became the governing party of Alberta in August 1921. Some United Farmers also supported a number of progressive educational ideas based on these orientations. Premier H. Greenfield and his U.F.A. successors, J. Brownlee and R. Reid, however, did not have much to say about education except in terms of the need to establish more efficient units of school administration. P. Baker, who was the Minister of Education throughout this period, was similarly preoccupied with the issue of school district consolidation. He had to contend, however, with two major curriculum revision committees and with the ideas of a number of individuals in the U.F.A. that had a

decided progressive education orientation. These educational ideas were not easily implemented, and it could be said that it was only through the efforts of a number of professional staff within the Department of Education that they were finally given official recognition in the mid-1930s.

Although the school of thought known as pragmatism was not exclusively American, it is usually considered to be peculiarly American in its spirit and principle doctrines. The great names in the pragmatic tradition are C. Peirce, W. James, and J. Dewey.[1] In the 1870s a group of men met at Harvard University, including Peirce and James, to discuss philosophical questions, particularly questions concerning the impact of science and the scientific method on philosophy. Members of this group called their association the "Metaphysical Club". However, the general spirit of the group was in the direction of scientific considerations and away from metaphysical speculation.

Many of the same conditions that were responsible for the emergence of pragmatism were involved in the resurgence of philosophical realism. An important factor was the influence of science and the scientific method. Dewey and his colleagues were also influenced by the scientific revolution in biology that was initiated by the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species.[2] Some members of the Metaphysical Club corresponded with Darwin and all of them were greatly interested in the impact that evolutionary theory was having on science, religion, and philosophy. Dewey attributed much influence to Darwin and emphasized the effect his evolutionary theory had on philosophy. Dewey followed Peirce's general position on the logic of inquiry. Inquiry was defined by Peirce as activity that mediates between a state of doubt and the fixation of belief. Peirce had demonstrated that there were various methods of fixating belief, the most

effective being the scientific method. He believed that modern philosophy needed a logic of inquiry, a logic concerned with "finding out" rather than demonstrating tautological statements from axioms by a priori methods. Much of Dewey's career in philosophy was devoted to working out a logic of inquiry, which amounted to generalizing the experimental method so that it might be applicable to any meaningful subject matter.

Both Peirce and Dewey conceived ideas as proposed plans of action--possible operations--and in this sense an idea was seen to be synonymous with hypothesis. Ideas are always hypothetical because they are expectations of possible consequences. This stage of inquiry, then, is one of developing possible plans for operations to be performed.[3]

The next step is to act on the situation in terms of the idea (hypothesis) chosen to guide the operations. In this stage, a terminal judgment is made, and the object of this judgment is whether or not the situation, which originally was one of indeterminacy and disunity, has been transformed into a unified and determinate set of conditions. If it has been transformed one's psychological transformation is itself a product of the transformed situation. The terminal judgment is therefore not subjective and personal; it is objective and public. Dewey used the term warranted assertibility to denote the terminal judgment of inquiry, agreeing with Peirce's statement that truth is "the opinion which is fated to be ultimately agreed to by all who investigate".[4]

The ideas that emerge from the analysis by Peirce and Dewey of scientific inquiry that are important to this study can be summarized as follows:

1) Ideas that enable us to transform indeterminate and disunified situations are adequate or warranted, and as emergents of the process of inquiry, they become means to help us in subsequent inquiries. The general process of inquiry is continuous and serial in character.

2) Inquiry is always operational, experimental and is, consequently, objective and public in the same way that all scientific work is objective and public both in its methods and results.

3) Meaning is always relative to the specific operations and consequences that establish it. There is no possibility of articulating universal truth to statements because there is no method by which this can be done.[5]

The limits of knowledge are the limits of human experience and, as Peirce observed, "experience can never result in absolute certainty, exactitude, necessity, or universality".[6]

For Dewey, education was a process in which the latent, plastic powers and tendencies of the child were developed through a carefully planned sequence of experience in which experimental method was the basis of the educational method. In this view, the purpose of educational effort is continuous growth of the person in the fullest possible sense. There is nothing that growth can be subordinate to, for growth is what is "given". Neither can education, which itself is growth, be said to be subordinate to something else. Dewey believed that education is something more than the consummation of established knowledge. Its method should reflect the principle which the Greeks used to call "the art of knowledge" and is more important than the products of that art, as valuable as they may be. Dewey's contention that the curriculum of the school should be a process of active work was closely related to his studies in Psychology and Philosophy.[7]

Dewey's doctrine of progressive education was developed in the following principal works: Darwin's Influence on Philosophy and other Essays, Democracy and Education, Essays in the Pragmatic Attitude, The Quest for Certainty, and Philosophy and Civilization. The principal tenets of Progressive Education are related to pragmatism in that the emphasis is upon attaining a more practical type of education. According to progressive educators schools should discontinue feeding children facts and should abandon the formal discipline approach of teaching. If the students' latent possibilities are to be realized, vital activity should take the place of mechanical memorizing. Learning by doing, by experiencing and by experimenting must be substituted for learning by listening and sitting still. The school should be converted into a living creative influence, producing self-directing citizens and not stultified masses of graduates. In order that the school be true to real life, it should be the scene of students becoming actively involved in their studies or school work. To progressive educators the insatiable hunger of youth for making things, for being active, is considered to be of great educational value. Learning "by merely looking at or hearing about things is necessarily of lesser value to the student; only life can teach life".[8] According to progressive theory, the customary method of directed learning fails because it does not develop in the child the ability to meet new situations, to attack problems which constantly occur in real life, and to make adjustments necessary in a changing economic, social, and political order. The break between the passive, unwilling learning of the traditional school and the active work of life should be avoided by the simple device of leaving the students free to choose and execute their tasks. This will make the child happy and will eliminate the hurtful separation between

school and life. According to Dewey learning and thinking are superlatively stimulated when the student recognizes the purpose of learning, when he takes up the problem as his own and works at it independently. Since pupils should be permitted and encouraged to acquire instructional material by their own efforts, it is only logical to depart from the traditional splitting and chopping of subject matter characteristic of the old school. According to progressivism, integrated instruction, or the project method, which dispenses with time schedules and separate subjects, should be the order of the day. It has been suggested that the main difference between the pedagogy of progressivism and that of essentialism or traditional education is that progressivism viewed the curriculum as an ordered series of active enterprises, whereas traditional education has always seen it as some ordered series of subject matter. It is important to emphasize that without the underlying philosophy of pragmatism, progressivism as it emerged would not have had the necessary ideological base.

That pragmatists operated on an empirical or experimental basis and were diametrically opposed to idealists is evidenced in the following statement by S.E.D. Shortt:

> Man was born with no innate ideas; rather primary sensory perceptions gained by experience were associated to form more complex ideas. Verification of any such concept depended on experiment and observation while an idea which remained untested was at best a hypothesis. The evidence of orderly design in the universe, for example, might imply the existence of a creative intelligence, but it certainly did not establish the presence of an immanent God.[9]

Thus it can be seen how pragmatists placed metaphysics beyond the scope of reasoned knowledge. It is clear that the philosophy of pragmatism is not in line with the dogma and tenets of traditional Christianity. To

the pragmatist the limits of human experience can never result in absolute certainty. Ethical idealists would strongly reject this deduction. It will be argued later that pragmatism corresponds to some degree with the social gospel movement since the latter tended to strip away much of the dogma and tenets of traditional Christianity.

Pragmatism as defined by Dewey and his ideas on educational reform known as progressivism were not advocated by P. Baker, Minister of Education, during the U.F.A. period. However, a form of moderate pragmatism and some progressive educational ideas were espoused by the utopian wing of the U.F.A., most notably the women's branch of that movement and by some government officials. These educators wanted a more practical type of education and one that was much more related to the student's needs.

The social gospel, basically a form of practical Christianity, was part of a widespread attempt in Europe and North America to revive and develop Christian social insights and to apply them to the emerging forms of a collective society. This task was undertaken under the pressures of positive, organic, and developmental forms of thought arising in Europe and Britain in the wake of Comte, Darwin and Marx.[10] In writing of the origin of the social gospel Richard Allen states:

> The social gospel which resulted is usually regarded as an American movement, yet Ritschlian theology in Germany, the 'new theology' of R.J. Campbell in Britain, and the new Christianity of Salem Bland in Canada may all join Walter Raushenbusch, the classic American spokesman of the movement, in laying claim to the name.[11]

The social gospel movement was concerned with solving concrete social problems in a practical way. It was not primarily concerned with life after death but with life here on earth. Traditional Christianity tended to focus on the individual and his need for repentance whereas the

social gospel was concerned with the needs of the collectivity. Some of the exponents of social gospel, indeed, felt that personal salvation was impossible without social salvation. It was a call for men to find the meaning of their lives in seeking to realize the Kingdom of God in the very fabric of society. Whatever might be disputed in the great systems of theology erected in the course of the nineteenth century, this much was clear, that the social gospel mandate involved a response to concrete human needs. As the social gospel in Canada was entering its crest, Raushenbusch was writing a series of lectures which were published in 1917 as "A Theology for the Social Gospel". While many religious currents came together in this book, reduced to its basic concepts, it was largely a reflection of the theology of the German scholar, Albrecht Ritschl, who had dominated European Protestant theology in the 1870s and 1880s. Ritschl's thought, although usually unsystematically appropriated by reform groups, provided the implicit theological foundations of the social gospel in Canada.

In Ritschl's theology, man and God seemed to exist in a single continuum. Decades of metaphysical debate had made Ritschl skeptical about the possibility of rational knowledge of God. Not the faculty of reason, but the emotions and, in particular the experience of divine forgiveness, were the avenue to a knowledge of God. The social gospel placed less emphasis on holiness and wrath than traditional Christianity. Just as traditional characteristics which distinguished God from man were discounted, so the existential alienation between man and God, expressed in the doctrine of original sin, was denied, and man was seen to be fundamentally good.[12] The objective of claiming the land for 'scriptural holiness' encompassed not only an interest in, but the necessity of social reform.

As traditional Christianity became more diffused in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as more organic forms of social thought and as awareness of the demands of social problems became more acute, the underlying individualism of the earlier forms of traditional Christianity seemed to many to be less and less appropriate. The demand save this society now, and the slogan the evangelization of the world in our generation became the Christianization of the world in our generation.[13] The sense of an immanent God working in the movements of revival and awakening was easily transferred to social movement such as the U.F.A. and U.F.W.A.

These movements, pragmatism and the social gospel, influenced political movements generally; however, in Alberta they had a profound effect upon farmers and related women's groups. Politically, the real man behind the scene of the United Farmers of Alberta was Henry Wise Wood. He is credited with bringing in cooperative principles in line with the tenets of the social gospel. Richard Allen has stated that the association of the social gospel and the Canadian agrarian movements of the twentieth century has been stated but never fully explored. However, by 1921 all wings of the social gospel had found a place of such prominence in the farmers' organization that it might be termed the religion of Agrarian Revolt.[14]

To social gospel observers the Canadian prairies seemed to be plagued by a lack of social life and community ideals, which left the farmer a prey to speculators and a victim of a system which permitted unearned commercial increment. Richard Allen indicates how the social gospel movement attempted successfully to overcome some of these problems:

> Farmer cooperation as a means of attack upon these economic injustices seemed to require of the church a stimulation of the social spirit of the country dweller and the responsibilities which accompanied the 'new agriculture'.[15]

Out of this concern grew institutes, conferences, and summer schools on such rural problems as cooperative methods, community organization, and the role of the church.

On the practical level, the United Farmers of Alberta was a group of farmers, joined in voluntary association, who believed that they could make farm life more successful and secure. Officially, the United Farmers of Alberta was formed in 1909 when the American oriented Society of Equity agreed to unite with the Alberta Farmers' Association. The new group divided its energies in two directions: the one in organizing and educating the farmers to work for their rights; and the other, in organizing and establishing commercial distribution and production facilities in order to escape the monopolies of Eastern business interests. Western farm Groups besieged Ottawa to discontinue the policy of protection. Western farm leaders continually raised their voices against corrupt and sophisticated political practices, and many hoped to free themselves from the grip of the old line parties.[16] This discontent became more pronounced with the breakdown of the federal party system in Alberta after 1917. The Federal Union Government annoyed the farm community by cancelling the farmer's military exemption and prompted the movement to take on political activities.

In addition, Alberta was greatly influenced by developments occuring in Western farm areas in the United States especially in North Dakota. The task of manoeuvering the United Farmers of Alberta

into political action fell to the Non-Partisan League, at whose helm were partisans of the social gospel. The Non-Partisan League originated in North Dakota in 1915 as a result of the economic hardships faced by farmers in that State and the inability of either Democratic or Republican parties to improve their lot. The farmers in North Dakota were "organized as a group pledged to vote only for agrarian candidates in the Republican and Democratic primaries"[17] and thus used the existing political machinery to capture control of the State government. In 1917 the League won an astonishing victory in the State elections. Thus, the idea of "group movement" had been initiated in North Dakota and through Henry Wise Wood, it spread to Alberta.

The theory of group politics was one of the most radical notions of political reform to gain a following in Alberta from 1917 to the early 1920s. Significantly, the theories emerged in Canada out of debates between two social gospel radicals, W. Irvine and H. Wood, over the nature of political action the U.F.A. should take. Both Wood and Irvine agreed that partisan politics was ineffective and even corrupt. In The Farmer in Politics (1920) Irvine expressed his discontent concerning traditional politics:

> The moral degeneracy of party politics is not so much a cause as it is the effect of the downfall of the two-party system. The graft, the patronage, and the chicanery resemble the putrid odor of the decaying carcass. . . . Itwould appear that the inevitable outcome will be the adoption of a non-partisan, or group form of government. . . . Science, applied to industry had led to the division of labour, and specialization; this in turn has led to industrial group organization based on particular group interests; these groups are seeking representation in Parliaments; and once they get to Parliament the two-party system becomes inoperative, and some form of group government is necessary.[18]

Whereas Irvine believed that labourers, socialists, and other groups should be included within the United Farmers of Alberta, Wood argued that the farmers were a distinct group in Alberta and opposed Irvine's ideas of merging farming interests with other constituencies.

Wood's leadership of the U.F.A. was conceived in social, historical, and theological terms. Civilization had been developed on the basis of an original wrong choice of autocratic methods inspired by animal selfishness. In the contemporary order this wrong choice was represented by the industrial organization of the manufacturing interests. The farmer's organizations, in their opposition to the overwhelming national control exerted by these interests, had evolved a method of voluntary democratic organization. To compromise this development was to jeopardize a great hope of radical reform.[19]

The program of social reform quite naturally appeared in political garb as "group politics". Since Wood's entire program was ultimately theological, group politics had a very religious cast. Wood spoke in more than similes when he indicated that there were those "who are just as opposed to readjustment along these lines as the Pharisees were to Christ. . ."[20] He went on to assert:

> Christ promises us that if we follow His Word of Life in the service of God, we may establish a world-wide kingdom over which the great force of love will reign supreme, the nations of the earth will bring their glory into it, the force of evil will cease from troubling, and the people be at rest.[21]

Only by means of group politics did it seem that the new society, the Kingdom of God, could be won without compromising the gains already made. To follow the practice of organizing a broad party and platform to appeal

to an electorate permeated by a mixture of principles was out of the question. Wood considered that the traditional party system was corrupt and, like Irvine, he condemned the graft, patronage, and chicanery of conventional politics.

For many, farmers' organizations were the hope for the establishment of genuine democracy and an end to the tyranny of cabinet domination and political partyism. Thus, techniques such as the recall, referendum, proportional representation, and direct legislation by use of the initiative were commonly espoused.[22] There can be little doubt that the majority of farmers saw the good life in terms of immediate and concrete improvement, rather than in some distant utopia. The influence of the social gospel is easily recognized here.

The main issues of the provincial election campaign of 1921 as far as the U.F.A. was concerned were Wood's group organization and the undemocratic character of the traditional party system. On July 2, 1921 an official declaration of principles was issued by the U.F.A. which endorsed Wood's method and asserted "we are a group of citizens going into political action as an organization".[23] Each candidate was answerable to the organization in the constituency which elected him. The U.F.A. platform was based on the resolutions adopted at the 1921 convention, with special emphasis on the statement that no government should resign except on a direct vote of non-confidence. This was popular because many farmers were convinced that the most undemocratic aspect of the party system was the secret caucus and Cabinet domination of the party.

The United Farmers won a decisive victory in the 1921 election, attaining thirty-nine of the sixty-one seats in the Legislature. Most

agreed that the chief architect of this victory was Wood because his philosophy of group government elicited strong support especially in the rural areas.

It was suggested that Wood accept the premiership of the U.F.A. Government. He declined this offer, however, and indicated that the choice of the premier would have to be decided by a meeting of the elected U.F.A. representatives in Calgary. On July 26, 1921, H. Greenfield was chosen to be the U.F.A. Government's first premier.[24]

The U.F.A. won the 1921 general election because they were practically-minded and sensitive to the needs and concerns of farmers. Wood and Irvine knew that the provincial Liberal Party was not responding adequately to the needs of the farmers and that most Albertans were disenchanted with the two-party system. Thus, by appealing to the farmers and espousing the virtues of group government with such devices as the recall, referendum, and the initiative, the U.F.A. was able to capture a majority of seats. Although Irvine was a socialist and Wood a free enterpriser, the two worked together because of their common belief in group government. In the sense that it was politically expedient for Wood and Irvine to work together against the old like parties, it can be seen that these leaders were pragmatic and sought to do what was most practical under the circumstances. Both Wood and Irvine were in sympathy with the demands of the social gospel movement and were concerned about seeking the 'Kingdom of God' by meeting the practical needs of ordinary people.

How did the U.F.A. premiers, H. Greenfield, J. Brownlee, and R. Reid, fit into this new political party based on group government and what impact did they have on Alberta education and schooling? H. Greenfield

was born in 1869, attended Wesleyan School in Dalston, England, and came to Canada in 1892. In 1917 he settled in Peace River, Alberta, where he was active as President of the Alberta Association of Municipal Districts and as Vice-President of the U.F.A. Progressive Association. Upon the resignation of Premier C. Stewart, Greenfield was called upon by the Lieutenant-Governor to form a government and assumed office on August 13, 1921.[25] Initially Greenfield, in keeping with the tenets of group government, responded to the wishes of the local constituencies and conventions and avoided the traditional domination of the Cabinet and the caucus over legislative measures. With regard to educational matters, Greenfield expounded the benefits of less government control. From 1923 to 1924 economic conditions were extremely bad in Alberta so that pessimism was prevalent among all classes. This time marked the lowest point in the educational record of the U.F.A. Government. Grants to schools and the university were reduced and the free summer school for teachers was discontinued. Nevertheless, during Premier Greenfield's time revision committees were set up at both the elementary and secondary levels. Greenfield resigned as Premier on November 23, 1925 and was succeeded by J.E. Brownlee.[26]

Brownlee was born in 1884 at Port Ryerse in Ontario, was educated at Sarnia High School, and graduated from the University of Toronto with a B.A. in 1906. He came to Alberta in 1916 settling in Ponoka. By occupation he was a lawyer, and worked for several years as General Counsel for the United Grain Growers Limited and the U.F.A. Although he was not a candidate in the 1921 general election, he was appointed Attorney-General on August 13, 1921 and was later returned to the

Legislature for Ponoka by acclamation. He served as Premier of Alberta from 1925 until July 1934. As early as 1925 there was virtually no distinction between the U.F.A. Government and any other conventional government. The Cabinet did not usually heed the advice of the local conventions and the recall, the referendum, and direct legislation by means of the initiative were forgotten issues.[27] During Brownlee's term in office P. Baker, Minister of Education, attempted to put through a school district consolidation bill which became known as the Baker Bill. However, Brownlee was too preoccupied with the price of wheat and related economic issues to give this bill much attention. In fairness, however, Brownlee indicated as early as 1929 that the existing school system was not of the best quality and that some reform was necessary. He maintained that in Australia and New Zealand the educational districts were the norm and had much in common with the proposal advocated by Baker. He asserted that these countries were known for the excellence of their rural educational systems. Nevertheless, Premier Brownlee was very cautious about initiating a change of this magnitude:

> It is not the intention of the Government to ride rough-shod over the people of the Province. Legislation which affects the daily life of the people must have the support and cooperation of the people to succeed and without this support no reform can be successfully carried out.[28]

The Legislative Assembly was not willing to approve the proposed reform measures which would have provided larger units of school administration. In the 1929 session and, again, in 1930, the Assembly rejected the Baker Bill.[29] Brownlee resigned on July 10, 1934 and was succeeded by R.G. Reid.

Reid was born in 1879 in Scotland and was educated at Hutcheson's Grammer School in Glasgow. He came to Canada in 1903 and settled in

Vermilion, Alberta. He was elected to the Alberta Legislature in 1921. Upon the formation of the Greenfield government he was appointed Minister of Municipal Affairs and Minister of Health. On the resignation of Premier Brownlee, he was called upon to form a Cabinet and was sworn in as Premier and Provincial Secretary on July 10, 1934.[30] Although Reid did not agree with all aspects of the Baker Bill, he felt that it should be advanced to the committee stage at which time amendments were to be made. Like Brownlee, he was cautious in initiating any educational change until the U.F.A. Government had another mandate from the people of the province.[31]

In general, it can be seen that within about four years after the July 1921 election, the U.F.A. no longer responded to the local constituencies and conventions and operated by means of Cabinet control. The recall, the referendum, proportional representation, and direct legislation were put aside. With respect to education, Greenfield, Brownlee, and Reid were more concerned with economic issues than with initiating any major educational reforms.[32] It is true that both Brownlee and Reid gave some consideration to Baker's consolidated school district bill but they were too cautious and concerned about maintaining power rather than implementing radical educational measures. In order to attain a clearer perspective of what occurred in Alberta education and schooling, it is necessary to examine the activities of the Department of Education and, in particular, the views of the Minister of Education, P.E. Baker.

Baker was Minister of Education throughout the entire fourteen years that the U.F.A. was in power. He was born in 1887 into a Baptist Minister's home. It was taken for granted that he would follow his father's footsteps as a minister. However, unlike many youth at the time, he began to have serious problems with his religious faith, and found it difficult

to accept without question established Protestant dogma. Nonetheless, he began a program of theological training, and received his B.A. degree in 1900 from McMaster University, a prestigious Baptist institution. He even did post-graduate work at the Chicago School of Divinity but did not complete his studies. He decided instead to take up farming in the West. He had an uncle in Calgary, and promotional literature regarding the West attracted his attention. In 1910 Baker settled in Southern Alberta at Nemiskamin where he farmed nine sections of land. Not only did he become a successful farmer, but he was also an active member of the U.F.A. group in the District of Altorado, and was the first President of the group.[33] In the 1921 general election Baker won an easy victory in the electoral district of Medicine Hat. He anticipated that he would receive a Cabinet post since few of his colleagues possessed his educational qualifications. His service on the local school board gave him a good grasp of the problems of rural education. Shortly after the selection of Greenfield as Premier of the U.F.A., Baker spoke to Wood:

> I told Mr. Wood that I would like to be Minister of Education. He merely smiled and said, "Well, you have my permission". . . I had no sooner reached home, however, then I got a request from Premier Greenfield to return at once to Calgary. There he offered me the portfolio which I accepted with satisfaction.[34]

Baker did not approach his new portfolio with any strong agrarian bias. He believed that what is vital to education for all youth is that they be involved in the fullness of the human experience, regardless of their socio-economic background.[35] One of his earliest tasks was to respond to the recommendations of two curriculum revision committees that emphasized the need for a more practical type of education. At the initial meeting of the General Committee in Education in 1922, Baker

described its task in these words:

> The new course must be flexible and easily adaptable to the varying needs of the children of all parts of the Province. The curriculum must be made to contribute its full share to the development of character, right attitudes and good citizenship in Alberta youth. Finally the committee must produce a piece of work which will meet the demands of the public for an education which is more practical, that will appeal to educators as sound pedagogically and command the enthusiastic support of thousands of people in this Province who are interested in education.36

In the above statement it is clear that the new Course of Studies was to be more practical and to a limited degree student-centered in that it was to meet the varying needs of the children of all parts of Alberta. The emphasis on meeting the needs of the students is clearly in line with the social gospel in that the latter was geared to meeting the needs of people not in some remote future but more immediately here on earth. That education was to be more practical is obviously in accord with the tenets of pragmatism and progressive education outlined earlier.

Baker was also determined to actualize one of the promises of his party, "Grade VIII for every Alberta pupil" which was a goal of no mean magnitude considering the economic conditions of the time. By 1927 most young Albertans were enrolled up to Grade VIII. The interest of the young people soon went beyond Grade VIII and by the 1930s schools were having to cope with large numbers of students who were interested in secondary education. Baker wanted the population to bear the responsibility for these extensions in a more equitable way by means of school district consolidation. He was especially interested in improving rural education. The consolidation of the numerous school districts would help to establish appropriate tax burdens and equalize educational opportunity throughout the

province. Through such a system rural schools would eventually obtain better teachers and better educational facilities and equipment. Baker clearly believed that most educational problems in rural education would be solved if the school districts were organized into larger units of administration.[37]

In 1928 Baker announced that the entire rural school system should be reorganized, although the local district would remain as the basic administrative unit. In addition to local school districts, other units or levels of administration would be formed. One hundred and fifty such districts would make up one large division, for a total of twenty large divisions throughout the province. Together these twenty large divisions would form a general taxing area, and an equalized educational tax would be applied over the entire province. The general taxing area would be governed by a board consisting of the chairman of each of the twenty divisions, and would be responsible for providing equality of educational opportunity and for maintaining similar rural and urban teacher salary schedules. The twenty divisional boards would each consist of five members, all elected by the ratepayers. This board would be responsible for engaging, supervising and paying teachers. Each division was to have a superintendent and two assistant superintendents, who would constantly supervise the work in the schools. The superintendent would advise the divisional board with respect to all appointments and dismissals. The local board would retain all of its existing powers, except the hiring and paying of teachers.[38] As was noted previously the Baker Bill was rejected in 1929 and 1930. Despite opposition to this bill, Baker continued to press for the adoption of larger school district units until the defeat of the U.F.A. Government in the 1935 election. According to The Edmonton

Journal in April 1935 the Legislative Educational Committee, under Baker's chairmanship, made the following recommendations:

> The Committee recommends that residential schools be provided to serve the needs of families scattered over the wide areas on the fringes of settlement.
>
> The Committee also recommends that secondary education be provided in rural areas by the province directly or through the combination of districts into units of sufficient size and strength to enable them to meet a common problem.
>
> At least one of the Folk School type should be established at the earliest opportunity, says the report which also urges the advisability of the Dominion government establishing a Canadian Library Commission and to foster adult education in Alberta by means of grants for libraries in rural communities.[39]

Each of these recommendations could be viewed as being moderately progressive especially the latter. But Baker was not to remain in office long enough to realize these and other reforms.

Because of Baker's interest in improving rural education by means of consolidation of school districts and his concern in making the curricula more practical, he can be considered a moderately progressive or even progressive in the sense of Dewey's concept of progressivism. Indeed, Baker had been advocating a type of education that would be more practical and related to the varying needs of the students as early as 1922.

If Baker had responded fully to the wishes of the educational reformers in his movement, idealists and visionaries like W. Irvine, I. Parlby, R. Gunn, and W. Ross, the fourteen years of the U.F.A. administration might have been greatly different. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the views of some of these reformers who became such an important force in educational thought and practice in Alberta.

William Irvine was very interested in attaining a type of

education that would help shape a new social order. In The Farmers in Politics (1920), Irvine wrote at length about education and life. Although education was important to life in a democracy, Irvine considered the educational system to be particularly weak because teachers were poorly paid and inadequately trained. Moreover, according to Irvine, high schools, notwithstanding their growing enrollments, were essentially for children of the well to do:

> High Schools and Universities exist for the wealthy. These places of learning, although financed by taxes imposed on the poor, are but additional privileges for the rich. . . . It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that there is a growing agitation in the ranks of organized farmers and in labour unions for radical changes along educational lines.[40]

Irvine considered that vocational training should be developed extensively to make education truly meaningful and more attractive for the majority of students. Only an education for life could lead to the development of the whole person through a full expression of the self. Irvine considered ideal education a force that would bring in a new social order:

> We must assume that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting but on fraternity; not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but a deliberately planned cooperation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or brain.[41]

This ideal education would prepare people to make a living that would justify their right to live, and would prepare people to enjoy life in such a way as to make it worthwhile. He clearly wanted a type of education that would help shape society, not merely a traditional type of education that only reflected traditional structures.[42]

Other visionaries or progressives in education besides Irvine were some of the leaders of the United Farm Women of Alberta. The Honourable Irene Parlby, who was an influential advocate of educational change, wrote and spoke extensively on the topic. She advocated a type of creative education free of drudgery and drill. In her address to the 1925 U.F.W.A. convention, Parlby introduced the Dalton Plan: "It permits the children to learn by the scientific method and to investigate and discover for themselves".[43] The objective of this form of pedagogy was the character development of the child, that is, he would become wholesome, charitable, and intelligent.

Like Baker, Parlby was also concerned with rural education and more particularly how to develop an elementary school program which would not necessarily lead the children away from rural life. In 1928 she visited schools in Sweden, Denmark, and England in an attempt to find answers to this problem. She noted that in Denmark the schooling was much more practical and related to the student's needs than in Alberta.

However, the most effective voice for educational reform in the Alberta farmer's movement was the Educational Committee of the U.F.W.A. formed in 1925. Mrs. W. Ross and Mrs. R.B. Gunn played important roles on the Committee by examining such matters as teacher quality, curriculum, and educational financing. However, they were always concerned foremost with the aims of education, that is the development of what they called holistic education or creative education.

In 1927 and 1928 Mrs. Gunn made an extensive study of educational innovation and experiments in various parts of the world. From the craft schools of Britain to the American Dalton Plan, many interesting approaches to education were brought before groups of women in Alberta by Mrs. Gunn.

She felt that schools in Alberta were too rigid, and that schools should train for life and not merely for the passing of examinations. The school was to take into account the natural inclinations and interests of the child.[45] Nor did these visionaries neglect the theme of cooperation in educational procedures. At many U.F.W.A. conventions, resolutions were presented by committees urging the government to promote the philosophy of cooperation in school studies and texts. At the Annual Convention in 1927, for example, the following resolution was adopted:

> Be it resolved that we ask the Provincial Government to appoint a committee representative of the various groups involved to draw up a course of studies on the principles of cooperation for use in our public schools.[46]

In 1928, replying to the convention on the need for textbooks stressing cooperation, Baker asserted that "cooperative methods for marketing would be dealt with in the new textbook on Civics and Economics".[47] This was not enough to satisfy the more fervent believers such as Irvine, Parlby and Gunn in the virtues of agrarian ideology and progressive reform. However, one positive step taken by the provincial government in promoting the philosophy of cooperation was the establishment of the Institutes of Cooperation for Adults in 1928. These institutes promoted various forms of adult education which were designed in conjunction with several agricultural colleges with a view of promoting sound principles of cooperation.[48] Apart from these steps and some work at the elementary level, however, little effort was expended to promote cooperation as a subject of study.[49] The cooperative activities that were part of the elementary Social Studies programme will be examined in the next chapter.

In addition to the progressive ideas espoused within the U.F.W.A. by Parlby, Gunn and Ross, the work of government officials and civil

servants from 1921 to 1935 need to be examined to determine the extent to which they advocated progressive educational ideas. Although not all senior civil servants in the Provincial Department of Education were sympathetic to more pragmatic forms of education, much initiative came from several key figures, such as D.J. Dickie and H.C. Newland, for curriculum changes. An important exception to this trend was J.T. Ross, who held the position of Deputy Minister of Education from 1917 to 1934 and whose views were largely in keeping with the essentialist or ethical idealist position.

Ross was born in Huron County, Ontario, in 1864. He received a teaching certificate from the Winnipeg Normal School in 1892 and completed his B.A. at the University of Manitoba in 1895. For several years he taught in Saskatchewan and Alberta high schools. In 1901 he went to Dawson City, where he was Superintendent of Schools and Inspector of Indian Schools. In 1906 Ross became a Provincial Inspector of Schools in Strathcona, Alberta. In 1909 he was appointed Chief Inspector Schools and became Deputy Minister of Education in 1917.[50] Ross was basically a conservative educator who served as Deputy Minister of Education during the latter part of the Liberal regime and for most of the U.F.A. period. In 1919 Ross considered that the intellectual, moral, and physical development of students must be considered of fundamental and primary importance, and that the teacher who had the scholarship, teaching power, and personality would be considered one of the most indispensable members of the community. He maintained this emphasis on the moral development of the student throughout his long career as Deputy Minister. He was also concerned with the problems of rural education and thought that the passing of the Baker Bill would be helpful in creating a more equitable school system:

> One of the most pressing educational needs of Alberta today is to establish a more equitable system of distributing the burden of school support, so that the Elementary Schools may be kept in operation during at least two hundred days in each year.[51]

In general, however, Ross was not sympathetic to the development of a more pragmatic type of education as is evidenced in his reactionary attitude towards the Alberta Teachers Alliance and his conservative, ethical idealist orientation toward pedagogy and the curriculum. Nevertheless, according to W.H. Swift, the Inspector of Schools in Athabasca, Baker was in no way subservient to him:

> Mr. Baker gave his men a substantial degree of freedom but was intelligent enough to make his own will prevail in the portfolio he had chosen for himself.[52]

One of the important reformers within Ross' Department was G. Fred McNally, a former student of Dewey and W. Kilpatrick at Columbia University, who was appointed to chair the important curriculum revision committees in 1921 and 1922. McNally was born in 1878 at Queensbury, New Brunswick, and received B.A. from the University of New Brunswick in 1900. He took the position of classics master at Moncton High School in 1901. In 1906 he moved to Alberta and taught at the Strathcona High School. In 1910 he became an Alberta School Inspector and served in this capacity until he was appointed Principal of Camrose Normal School in 1914. He received an M.A. from the University of Alberta in 1911 and was a graduate student at Columbia University for four summers. Although he did not complete his doctorate, he was greatly influenced by such prominent progressive educators as W.L. Thorndike, J. Dewey, and especially W. Kilpatrick. Kilpatrick, a professor of Educational Philosophy at

Columbia University, did not lecture but rather gave his students group assignments for each class.[53] Kilpatrick became famous for the Project Method of learning. His students were required to examine such issues in progressive education as learning by doing, the value of the project work, building a progressive curriculum, and evaluating the school as an agent of creating a new social order. The project method was intended to make "purposeful activity" initiated by the child in a social environment that was seen to be the centre of the educational process. This method was intended to integrate subject matter with the problems of social life and to help the student develop proficiency in planning, executing and judging in what educational theorists have called "life situations".[54] In reviewing his life as a graduate student at Columbia, McNally comments on the influence this period had upon his work in Alberta:

> Graduate study has been a great delight to me not only for the result and breadth of vision, the great variety of instructors I have met, and fellow students with whom I have worked, but also for the challenge it presented to carry some of this inspiration into the daily life that I faced. Here again this exposure to great minds helped me, and I like to think it enabled me to offer a leadership in education in Alberta far more advanced that would have been the case had I not attended Columbia University.[55]

In 1918 McNally became Supervisor of Schools in the Department of Education and director of the summer school for teachers, continuing in these offices until his appointment as Deputy Minister of Education in 1935. McNally directed two major revisions of the Alberta school curriculum from 1921 to 1925. From 1921 to 1922 he was Chairman of the Elementary Revision Committee. The elementary courses in 1922 were to be more practical, more flexible, and more related to student needs. In

commenting about the new secondary program, McNally suggested there would be a similar orientation.

> 1. The new course must be more flexible, i.e., more readily adaptable to the varying needs of pupils living under widely different conditions and to the limitations imposed by circumstances on boards charged with the responsibility of providing these courses.
>
> 2. The number of subjects to be taken concurrently is excessive. It is believed that better results would be obtained by decreasing these, and by making a more intensive study of each.[56]

McNally spoke in a progressive way about learning by doing, cooperative activities, and project work.

McNally was a Baptist, and even though he served as President of the Baptist Union of Western Canada from 1919 to 1920, he was in no sense a narrow denominationalist. In his life he worked for good relations with the United, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches. For example, McNally was a member of a national committee which recommended the cooperation with the United Church in the production of Sunday School materials and lessons.[57] McNally urged a practical Christianity and believed in creating a new social order by means of education. McNally was not alone in his views of educational reform. D. Dickie, H.C. Newland and G.W. Gorman, were three other important figures in the Department who favoured forms of progressive pedogagy.

D. Dickie was born in 1883 in Hespeler, Ontario. She received an M.A. degree from Queen's University where she wrote a thesis entitled "Foxe's Martyrs". Dickie became an outstanding literary as well as educational figure in Alberta. Appointed to the staff of the Alberta Normal School in Calgary in 1910, she also taught at the Normal Schools in Camrose and Edmonton until her retirement in 1945. She helped to

institute the "Enterprise Programme" in the mid-1930s and was the author of some sixty texts for elementary schools, including The Enterprise, A First History of Canada, Collections of Canadian Poetry and The Great Adventure.[58] While at Columbia University, she was influenced by Dewey, Kilpatrick, and Thorndike. Her experience there enabled her to write creative and interesting history texts as early as 1921 and to help in formulating the Enterprise Programme in the mid-1930s. To Dickie, the purpose of education was to prepare the pupil for life:

> The pupils need initiative, imagination, self-reliance, judgment and the power to cooperate and he can get these only by experience. He needs information too, so much information that he cannot possibly carry it all in his head. What he needs to be taught is how to find the facts when he needs them.

Clearly she was against the rote-like approach to learning and was an advocate of progressive methods. Dickie considered that progressive education could be established by means of the Enterprise Programme.

> Usually the daily enterprise period falls into four parts; the planning period in which the pupils discuss their problems and plan their work for the day; the long working period when each works at his job; the evaluation period when they tell, or show what they have done and are commended for what they have done and criticized, or helped by their colleagues; and finally, the "clean-up" period.[60]

Although Dickie was a Presbyterian she was in no sense a narrow denominationalist. She emphasized the spiritual bases of education. She asserted that he who would: "save his soul must lose it--give it away". That is children, like all of us, grow in grace by throwing themselves into the swim of life at their own level and so learning to live as well.[61] According to Dickie, a common enterprise nurtured with a common zeal, offered a fine exercise in the art of living together. Dickie stressed

cooperation in learning, advocated the project method in learning, and believed that the schools could help in creating a new Christian social order. McNally was an influential government official, Dickie, an important writer and innovator in elementary education, but the most important person in Alberta's move toward progressive education was H. Newland.

Newland was born in Fingal, Ontario in 1883. He graduated from Fingal Public School where he placed first among the students in the Elgin Country Public School in 1900. Following a year at the Regina Normal School, he entered the teaching profession. He taught for several years in Alberta and then completed his B.A. at the University of Toronto in 1910. Subsequently he returned to Alberta to serve as Principal at Wildwood and later at Vegreville. From 1915 to 1928 he taught Latin at Victoria High School in Edmonton. After World War I he played an important role in the formative years of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance. He was editor of the A.T.A. Magazine, and President of the Canadian Teachers' Federation. Because of conflict with J.W. Barnett, the General Secretary of the A.T.A., Newland relinquished the positions of Editor of the A.T.A. Magazine and Managing Director of the Bureau of Education in 1925.[62] He received his M.A. from the University of Alberta in 1928. In that year he was appointed Instructor in Psychology at the Edmonton Normal School.

In 1927 he was responsible for the formation of two private educational organizations known as the Education Society of Edmonton and the Calgary Progress Club. Admission to these Clubs was carefully regulated. Only those teachers holding a University degree who were prepared to devote considerable energy to the study and to the reform of education (progressive education) were asked to join.[63]

In 1929, shortly after the Education Society of Edmonton was organized, Newland spent a year at the University of Chicago. As Patterson states it was not uncommon during this period for Canadian teachers to undertake graduate study in the United States:

> When the teachers did undertake to do graduate work, Chicago and Columbia's Teachers' College were the two institutions most frequently selected. The Chicago experience, coming as it did for Newland at the outbreak of the Depression intensified his conviction that social philosophy and education were integrally related. In addition it afforded him the opportunity to explore more thoroughly the writings associated with progressive education, the educational movement which had captured the United States.[64]

In the early 1930s and, especially after 1932 when the final requirements for his doctorate were complete, Newland actively promoted progressive educational measures and encouraged his associates to study the writings and the philosophy of G.S. Counts. Following his address to American teachers in 1932 entitled, "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?", Counts became one of the more well-known exponents of progressive education. Reinforced by the pronouncements of Counts, Newland continued to encourage the teachers to be instigators of social reform in Alberta.[65] With Newland's encouragement and leadership the Education Society of Edmonton and the Calgary Progress Club studied ways to implement progressive educational measures in the curriculum.

The interest in progressive education shown by the Education Society of Edmonton was indicative of the mood of the country. Progressive education was finally gaining a foothold in Canada. In the United States these ideas and practices had been in vogue for at least a decade. The writings of J. Dewey, W. Kilpatrick, G. Counts, H. Rugg, B. Bode and others had stimulated and effected major reforms in schooling.[66] While

best known for their contributions in educational reform, these men envisioned more than the transformation of schooling. They argued in favour of a new conception of democracy which they felt was better suited to the rapidly changing conditions of twentieth century America. What they advocated was similar to the Social Gospel's emphasis on the concern for the collectivity and a Christian socialist society.

A number of common elements characterized the progressive movement in education. Generally, progressive educators stressed the uniqueness of the learner and attempted to provide more adequately for individual differences. The emphasis was not only upon intellectual development but rather upon the whole development of the child. Mental growth, once the central focus of the school, was deemphasized as attention shifted to character development and citizenship. The acquisition of knowledge, while still important, was no longer revered as the ultimate purpose of schooling. A change in the learning environment was also envisioned. Teachers and administrators accepted the claim that learning could be facilitated through the provision of a stimulating and attractive classroom. The most distinctive and universal aspect of the acceptance of progressive education was the introduction of activity or project programs. By the mid-1930s learning by doing became the commonly acknowledged governing principle of the progressive school in Alberta and indeed in Canada.[67]

When the Department of Education decided in 1934 to undertake a major study of the curriculum and the philosophy of the schools, Newland was given the responsibility of providing leadership to those involved in the study. The most sweeping changes in favour of progressive education were made at the elementary level. The bulk of the detail work of the revision in 1934 was undertaken by a three-member committee consisting

of D. Dickie and O. Fisher, two normal school instructors, and W. Hay, an inspector, but it was "acknowledged by this threesome that Newland was the driving force in the reform".[68] Not only did he meet frequently with the committee in its deliberations, but he directed both the experimentation with and the implementation of the program.

The new program in the elementary school was built on the principle that education was a social experience in the course of which pupils planned, initiated, and carried out, cooperative projects. The motivation of the pupils was strengthened and the classroom was vitalized through a variety of activities, which replaced the verbalism and repetitive booklearning procedure of the old curriculum. The new programme, however, made greater demands on the ability, initiative and resources of the teacher. The greater freedom, both for teachers and students, also entailed greaten responsibility.[69]

In 1932 Newland became a high school inspector and within two years he served as Chief Inspector of Schools and was appointed Supervisor of Schools. In the latter position, where he served for ten years, Newland directed a major curriculum revision for Alberta schools. Indicative of the trend towards a progressive education and curriculum were the nature of the following thought-provoking questions raised by Newland in 1932:

> Can teaching be effective when either the teacher or the pupil fails to appreciate the curricular objectives which are its raison d'etre.
>
> Is learning out of books valuable per se, without regard to the learner's purpose? Is it valuable merely if the purpose is regurgitation--reproduction on a test or examination.
>
> It it less a catastrophe when a child masters the whole curriculum, but wrecks his personality in the process?

> Can children learn to think for themselves, to plan, to initiate, to execute, to lead and to cooperate by means of classroom procedures now required by standard-type school programmes.[70]

Newland's influence on curriculum changes in Alberta was very pronounced after 1932 when he served as high school inspector. Nevertheless, while many of his colleagues agreed that the school should strengthen democracy, they disagreed with some aspects of Newland's emphasis on democratic pedagogy. As P.E. Oviatt states:

> Those who recognized the element of social reform or reconstruction inherent in Newland's philosophy were aware the problem it posed. They saw inconsistencies between Newland's objections to propaganda or to having the school promote any particular reforms, and his conviction that teachers should expound the doctrine of socialized economy. They saw a paradox between making the schools "laboratories of democracy" and inculcating the pupils with particular socio-economic ideas in a definite and planned manner. They saw, too, the divergence between Newland's professions of a "Christian Social Order", and a society in which the pragmatic philosophy with its rejection of absolute truths and ultimate authority, refuted the basic foundations of Christianity.[71]

Nevertheless, Newland's ideas on building a new Christian social order was in accord with the social gospel orientation outlined earlier. Many of the progressive educators like Newland, wanted to build a more equitable social order. In this respect he was in agreement with such social gospellers as S. Bland, H.W. Wood, and W. Irvine. According to Patterson it was under Newland's leadership that "Alberta became the foremost authority on progressive education in Canada".[72]

While Newland was Chief Inspector and Supervisor of Schools for Alberta, G.W. Gorman succeeded Deputy Minister Ross in 1934. Gorman was born in Ontario, and graduated from McMaster University in 1905, with first class standing in Philosophy and Political Economy. Two years later he

came West, and began teaching in a rural school near Regina. After a year's teaching experience, he entered Calgary Normal School where he received a first class teaching certificate. From 1909 until 1912, he was Principal of Carstairs School and Secretary-Treasurer of the town. Subsequently he was appointed Principal of Norwood School in Edmonton. His good work had already brought him to the notice of the Department of Education with the result that in November 1912, the Department placed him at High River as Inspector of Schools. In 1918 he was promoted to the position of Chief Inspector of Schools and in 1934 he became Deputy Minister of Education. Like Baker, he was particularly concerned with rural education and felt that the problems of rural education (poorly trained teachers and lack of proper educational facilities) could not be solved until Alberta adopted a new system of school administration. Under Gorman's supervision, experiments with larger school administrative unit were set up in Berry Creek in 1928 and in Turner Valley in 1933.[73] The success of these two experimental divisions paved the way for the eventual realization of Baker's dream for reorganizing rural education. Gorman was a staunch advocate of the merits of the new district school system and of a more pragmatic type of education. In 1934 Gorman stated his views on education which reflected this new orientation:

> Education is not a means of livelihood--it is a means to life. Our objectives have possibly been based too much upon the need for obtaining a living. The result is that many may endure as well a mentally starved existence while the richest fields of their spiritual life are lying uncultivated. Mental attainments, subjects taught, and methods employed are means rather than ends. Greater stress must be laid on the cultivation of personal and social character. The supreme motive in any system of education are character building and the enjoyment of life.[74]

According to Gorman education was not merely a matter of school years; it was a life process. Thus, key civil servants such as McNally, Dickie, Newland, and Gorman were instrumental figures behind the movement towards a more pragmatic or progressive forms of schooling. This trend towards a more progressive education can be noted in the work of the various committees as well as in inspectors' comments from 1921 to 1935.

In 1918 leading Alberta educators made a review of the curriculum and initiated work on a revised Programme of Studies. An examination of their initial findings suggests little change in content or orientation:

> An examination of the [1918] grid and its 1912 counterpart shows that the two programs were identical. . . . However, it did differ from preceding revisions in a very important detail--namely, the attention paid to psychological considerations.[75]

A year later, the Honourable George P. Smith, Minister of Education, announced that he planned a thorough-going review and revision of the Course of Studies. This was to be done under the direction of McNally who had been appointed Supervisor of Schools. McNally continued this work when the U.F.A. came into power. Thus it was not a partisan issue.

Baker's moderate views on progressivism allowed progressive educators such as McNally, Gunn, and Newland to be on the important revision committees at both the elementary and secondary levels. In 1921 the work of re-writing the curriculum of the elementary school was undertaken. Two committees were appointed, the first a lay committee which was composed of representatives of various organizations including members of the U.F.A. and the U.F.W.A. This committee, after considering the material which had been gathered as a result of a questionnaire, laid down the broad lines under which the revision was to be made. These suggestions

were then placed in the hands of a professional committee. McNally was the chairman of the latter group which was given the actual task of re-writing the various courses. This task was to be completed by 1922.[76]

The members of the elementary committee were already aware of the problems of rural education. They recommended that a program be designed which would be oriented to age groups rather than grades. Their recommendation were based upon what they knew of the problems of the one room rural school. However, representatives of rural organizations viewed the suggestion of age-group orientations as being one offering the rural population an inferior program to that provided in urban areas. Because of this reaction, the committee rejected this recommendation, thus while the "problems of the suitability of the curricula for rural schools was raised in the 1922 revision, no satisfactory solution was provided".[77] Nevertheless, as will be shown in the next chapter, the committee issued a report which they believed would meet the demands of the public for an education which was more practical that would "appeal to educators as sound pedagogically and that would command the enthusiastic support of the people in Alberta" who were interested in education.[78] In retrospect, McNally was able to say that "nowhere in Canada, at any time, has a greater effort been made to secure the opinions of people of representative shades of thought than was done in Alberta in 1921 and 1922".[79]

It was decided in 1921 not to proceed with the revision of the secondary curriculum until the lines of change in the elementary course had been decided. Gunn, Newland, and McNally were influential members of the secondary school committee which had the task of re-writing the secondary courses to be completed by March 1923. The new course was to be flexible, that is, more readily adaptable to the varying needs of

pupils living under widely different conditions. Some of the significant changes which the secondary curriculum committee did endorse were: adoption of more electives in high schools, increased provision for vocational preparation of students, adoption of a broader high school program and a change in educational thought from mental discipline to the concept of transfer of training. The former method placed a great deal of reliance upon rote, recitation, and memorization in learning, while the latter method placed a good deal of emphasis upon understanding, analyzing and synthesizing.[80] Teachers were also encouraged to be more interested in holistic education, that is, a type of education that was related to the total development of the student and not merely his intellectual development. Examples of the influence of this new orientation can be found in statements by school inspectors in the decade that followed.

In 1924 J.A. Smith, an Inspector of High Schools, indicated that in Grade IX and X History, the teacher who was progressive in the field of history, and enthusiastic and alive to the responsibilities of his position, was meeting with marked success. In 1927 Smith cautioned teachers to be "careful in not over-emphasizing work that has a strong appeal to memory only".[81] According to the Annual Reports inspectors were generally against students "cramming" for examinations. In 1928 McNally made the following observation of the trend to a more pragmatic type of education:

> These school conventions gave definite evidence of the stimulus teachers are exerting in the direction of improved methods of teaching, the organization of subject matter, the proper adaptation of the Course of Studies to particular conditions, and to a certain extent the realization of the value of the school in developing the physical and social gifts of the students.[81]

Another High School Inspector, E.L. Fuller, noted in 1932 that there was evidence also in the classrooms of much less 'cramming' and that the elimination of the examinations in Grade IX was largely responsible for improved teaching conditions. He also noted that the teachers had become more interested in training their students in the formation of right habits and skills and less concerned with merely 'stuffing' them with information.[82]

As was previously noted Deputy Minister Gorman was a progressive educator and no doubt this is one of the reasons there was such a momentum of progressive education especially from the time of his appointment. The arguments advanced by Gorman reflected this new orientation:

> Education is not a forced growth in the classroom period of childhood, but is rather a self-developing process, a living of life in wholesomeness and fullness, and the process is continuous and lifelong. This view of education does not aim at prematurely burdening the child with the task of manhood, but rather aims to develop at each stage the potentialities of that period. The aim of the school is to develop a habit of study and an inclination to practise it. This implies an interest. This interest is the germ implanted by the school. Education is thus not merely a matter of school years; it is a life process.[83]

This new orientation in education became a primary focus for both the elementary and secondary revision committees in 1934. These committees seemed determined to bring about a radically new approach in both subject matter and method.

The work of reviewing and revising the curriculum in 1934 for the first six grades of the elementary school was committed to sub-committees selected from the Normal Schools and Inspection staffs. It soon appeared that a coordinating or 'steering' committee would be required to decide such questions as type of programmes required, group divisions, and integration of subject matter.[84] D.J. Dickie, O.M. Fisher, W.E. Hay,

H.C. Newland and G.F. McNally were influential members of this committee. The recommendation was made that Dickie, Fisher and Hay be released from all work for some weeks at the beginning of 1934 to outline a plan of work for the elementary and intermediate grades along the lines of the decisions reached. The idea of the enterprise or the project method of learning was strongly advocated at this time--especially at the elementary level. An enterprise would be organized to include experiences in reading, arithmetic, music, in fact all the regular subjects taught in the elementary grades. The theory underlying this was that the enterprise would give scope for pupils to make their contributions to the development of the project at the point of their special interest or ability.[85]

In April 1934 the Department of Education drafted a questionnaire on secondary education which was sent to approximately one hundred and twenty persons. Nearly one hundred replies were received. The nature of the information sought is indicated by the following questions:

> How can we better meet the needs of the students of varying interests and capacities? Should more examinations be dropped? What subjects, if any, should be added? What else would you suggest for the improvement of our schools?[86]

A similar questionnaire was sent to a number of recent high school graduates to ascertain their views on the effectiveness of the education which they had received and to obtain from them suggestions as to how their courses could have been made more helpful.[87] The Minister of Education, Perren Baker, then appointed a committee to consider the replies to these questionnaires. Important members on this committee were Fuller, Newland, Gorman, and McNally. The committee held a three-day session and reached the following conclusions regarding the high school programme:

> a) that the revised course must take greater account of the needs of the thousands of young people in the secondary schools who will never go on to higher education;
> b) that certain worthwhile experiences now more or less neglected must be provided for;
> c) that some way must be found to free the offerings of the small high schools from the overshadowing influences of Matriculation and Normal Entrance courses;
> d) that the courses included in the new program must be valuable in their own right, and not because of deferred values to be expected to accrue to individuals later as a result of further study;
> e) that there must be such a restriction in the subject matter content as will ensure to the teacher the maximum freedom in the presentation of his material and at the same time enable the pupil to make adequate assimilation through reflection and collateral reading.[88]

These recommendations were progressive in nature but their implementation in the classroom was a more difficult matter. Newland considered that the least effective of the high school courses was History. By far the greater number of teachers sensed the need of helping their students to interpret the facts of the textbooks in terms of current events and contemporary problems. Many believed that it should be the purpose of these courses to give high school students an insight into the mechanisms of society.[89] But it was difficult for teachers to reconcile the larger purpose of secondary History with the more immediate requirement of the final examinations.[90] Newland believed that the elimination of final examinations would allow the teacher greater freedom and scope to deal with the truly important historical problems and issues. Teachers and administrators began to take on the new rhetoric. For example, C.O. Hicks, Principal of Victoria High School in Edmonton, stated:

> "School" as John Dewey says, "is not a preparation for life; it is life". This

> is true as far as it goes but it does not go far enough. Schools can and ought to be finer and nobler than life has yet become. Let this be our aim.[91]

In any case, inspectors and educators were becoming familiar with this 'new education' and some of its major advocates such as Dewey and Kilpatrick.

Thus, it becomes apparent that during the U.F.A. period educators and government officials were prepared to examine a variety of alternatives. No longer was the system which had come from eastern influences necessarily valid. As Patterson notes:

> An air of experimentation was apparent. Viable solutions for remedying the problems of the school were sought regardless of their source. . . . Conditions stimulated by the broader Progressive movement opened the way for educational change through its challenge to the old system.[92]

Although Baker was not in the forefront of this 'new education' he allowed people with innovative ideas to work on the important curricular revision committees. This occurred as early as 1921 at the elementary level, and by 1923 at the secondary level, and again in 1934. The influence of progressive educators such as Gunn, Dickie, Newland and McNally can be seen as early as 1921. During this time Baker worked hard to develop larger units of school administration. Although the full scale consolidation of school districts in Alberta did not occur until the Social Credit party was in power in 1935, it is true the Social Credit party basically implemented the consolidation of school districts, which had been formulated by the U.F.A. Government.

When William Aberhart's Social Credit party won eighty-nine per cent of all the seats in the Legislature (or 56 out of 63 seats), its

political theory was not as clearly defined as that of the U.F.A. when that party came to power in 1921.[93] Nevertheless on September 23, 1935 Aberhart became Premier, Minister of Finance, and Minister of Education. Because he was more concerned with financial matters he left the educational programs and policies to the Deputy Minister of Education, G.F. McNally, and especially to H.C. Newland, Supervisor of Schools.

Although the ethical idealist's view remained dominant in the early part of this century, other points of view began to develop that tended to influence Alberta's educational system in the 1920s and 1930s. These views were seen to have their origins to a significant extent in two developing systems. The first related to a philosophical point of view known as pragmatism, and the second to a form of Christian thought and practice known as the social gospel. This chapter has shown how some of these pragmatic and social gospel orientations influenced the theories and practices of the United Farmers of Alberta, a party that came to power in 1921 and stayed in office until 1935. Premiers Greenfield, Brownlee, and Reid said little about education except in terms of the need to establish more efficient units of school administration. Baker, the Minister of Education throughout the period, was similarly preoccupied with this issue. He had to contend, however, with the recommendations of two major curriculum revision committees and with the progressive ideas of a number of individuals in the Alberta Department of Education that led to their official recognition in the mid-1930s.

In the subsequent chapter the Social Studies curricular guides and related texts of the period from 1921 to 1935 will be examined in order to determine the extent to which a more pragmatic type of education was manifested in these source materials as well.

FOOTNOTES

[1]G. Max Wingo, Philosophies of Education: An Introduction (Toronto: D.C. Heath & Company, 1974) p. 196.

[2]Ibid., p. 197.

[3]J.D. Butler, Four Philosophies and Their Practice in Education and Religion (New York: Harper & Row Publishers Inc., 1951) p. 391.

[4]G. Max Wingo, op. cit., p. 215.

[5]Ibid., pp. 216-217.

[6]J.D. Butler, op. cit., p. 377.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]S.E.D. Shortt, The Search for an Ideal (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1976) p. 140. This is basically an examination of six Canadian intellectuals in an Age of Transition. It is an excellent book dealing with the tradition or philosophy of idealism and its antithesis, empiricism.

[10]Richard Allen, The Social Passion. Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928 (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1971) p. 4.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid., p. 5.

[13]Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[14]Ibid., pp. 200-201.

[15]Richard Allen, op. cit., pp. 203-204; K.W. McNaught, A Prophet in Politics (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1959) p. 74.

[16]William Irvine, The Farmer in Politics (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1920) pp. 75-76 and pp. 84-85.

[17]Richard Allen, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

[18]William Irvine, op. cit., p. 84.

[19]The Alberta Non-Partisan, December 4, 1918.

[20]W.K. Rolph, Henry Wise Wood of Alberta (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1950) p. 50.

[21]R.S. Patterson, "The Establishment of Progressive Education in Alberta (Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1968) p. 67.

[22]W.K. Rolph, op. cit., 108.

[23]W.K. Rolph, op. cit., p. 108; pp. 101-102.

[24]The Canadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa: The Mortimer Co. Ltd., 1924) p. 526.

[25]The Canadian Parliamentary Guide (Ottawa: The Mortimer Company Ltd., 1935) p. 365.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Initially the U.F.A.'s concept of group government consisted of various occupational interests having a direct voice in the Legislature. It also emphasized a reduction of the role and power of Cabinet directed government.

[28]The Edmonton Journal, Alberta Government Decided to Withdraw New School Act, March 19, 1929.

[29]L.J. Wilson, "Perren Baker, The U.F.A. and Education" (M. Ed. Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1970) pp. 84-88.

[30]The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, op. cit., p. 365.

[31]The Edmonton Bulletin, April 1935.

[32]The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, op. cit. p. 364.

[33]Ibid.

[34]W.L. Morton, "The Social Philosophy of Henry Wise Wood, the Canadian Agrarian Leader" (Agricultural History, 1948) p. 121.

[35]L.J. Wilson, Op. cit., p. 65.

[36]Perren Baker, Rural Education in Alberta (Edmonton: W.D. McLean, King's Printer, Jan. 8, 1929) p. 10.

[37]Course of Studies in English and Citizenship, Grades I to VIII (Edmonton: J.W. Jeffery, King's Printer, 1922) p. 4.

[38]Ibid.

[39]The Edmonton Journal, "Larger Administration Units to Bring Greater Efficiency", April 16, 1935.

[40]William Irvine, op. cit., p. 42.

[41]Ibid., p. 47.

[42]Ibid., p. 49.

[43]Irene Parlby, "Creative Education" Minutes of the U.F.W.A. Convention (Glenbow Foundation, Calgary, 1925) p. 44.

[44]Barbara V. Cormack, Perennials and Politics (Sherwood Park: Professional Building Ltd. (no date), "President's Address", U.F.W.A. Convention Reports) p. 124.

[45]S.M. Gunn, "President's Address", U.F.W.A. Convention Reports (January, 1926) p. 5.

[46]Convention Minutes, U.F.A., Annual Convention (1927) p. 115.

[47]Ibid., 1928, p. 152.

[48]Convention Minutes, U.F.W.A., Annual Convention (Jan. 1929) pp. 9-16. At this Convention Mr. George Hoadley, an active member of the U.F.A., was hopeful that cooperative methods in education would be in the school curriculum in History.

[49]R.S. Patterson, op. cit., p. 58.

[50]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta (1934) p. 9.

[51]Ibid., p. 10.

[52]L.J. Wilson, op. cit., p. 78.

[53]H.T. Coutts & B.E. Walker, G. Fred (Don Mills: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1964) p. 43. Because Columbia University required much statistical work in thesis research, McNally never completed his Ph.D. He indicated that he was not interested in mathematical data and that he was too busy in the review and revision of the Alberta curricula in any event.

[54]Ibid., pp. 41-42.

[55]Ibid., p. 44.

[56]The Programme of Studies, 1922, p. 25.

[57]H.T. Coutts & B.E. Walker, op. cit., p. 98.

[58]Sketches of Women Educators of Edmonton, Alpha Chapter Zeta Province (The Delta Kappa Gamma Society, 1972) p. 13.

[59]Ibid., p. 64.

[60]D.J. Dickie.

[61]Alberta Teachers' Association Magazine (Oct. 1937), Vol. 18, No. 2, 33.

[62]R.S. Patterson, "Herbart C. Newland Theorist of Progressive Education" in Profies of Canadian Educators (Toronto: D.C. Heath, Canada Ltd., 1974) p. 300.

[63]Ibid., p. 289.

[64]Ibid., p. 290.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid.

[67]H.C. Newland, "Alberta's New Programme for the Elementary School Education in Canada" An Interpretation (1978) p. 209.

[68]R.S. Patterson, "Herbart C. Newland Theorist of Progressive Education" in Profiles of Canadian Educators (Toronto: D.C. Heath, Canada Ltd., 1974) p. 300.

[69]Ibid.

[70]H.C. Newland, op. cit., p. 219

[71]P.E. Oviatt, "The Educational Contributions of H.C. Newland" (M.Ed. Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1970) p. 230

[72]R.S. Patterson, op. cit., p. 290

[73]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1935, pp. 5-6

[74]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1934, p. 13

[75]Nicholas Tkach, Alberta Catholic Schools...A Social History (The University of Alberta Press, 1983) p. 160

[76]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1923, p. 24

[77]Ibid. G. Fred McNally considers that in spite of the valiant efforts to popularize different courses in high schools, the results were disappointing. He considers that the prestige of normal entrance and university courses and the high cost of additional equipment led to this. (See G. Fred, p. 63)

[78]H.T. Coutts & B.E. Walker, G. Fred, op. cit., p. 62

[79]Ibid.

[80]The Edmonton Journal, March 15, 1928. It can be seen that gradually inspectors were becoming increasingly discontented with traditional education.

[81]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1934, p. 13

[82]Ibid. Associated with this "new education" was the greater emphasis on the cultivation of personal and social character. Education was to be more closely related to daily living. The Annual Report, 1934, p. 13

[83]Ibid.

[84]Ibid.

[85]R.S. Patterson, "Herbart C. Newland Theorist of Progressive Education", op. cit., pp. 300-301. See also Arrigo Christe's "The Development of the Elementary Social Studies Program in Alberta (M.Ed. Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1963, p. 71)

[86]H.T. Coutts & B.E. Walker, op. cit., p. 65

[87]Ibid. A more detailed examination of the questionnaire is given in the Annual Report of the Alberta Department of Education, 1934, p. 18

[88]The Annual Report of the Department of Education, The Province of Alberta, 1934, p. 18

[89]Ibid., p. 18

[90]Ibid., p. 36

[91]C.O. Hicks, "The High School Curriculum", The Perren Baker Papers, The Provincial Archives, July 22, 1934

[92]R.S. Patterson, "Establishment of Progressive Education in Alberta," op. cit., p. 72

[93]C.B. MacPherson, Democracy in Alberta (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1953)

Chapter V

A Review of the Social Studies Guides and Texts, 1921-1935

As shown in the previous chapter, educators such as McNally, Dickie and Newland, together with several leaders within the U.F.W.A., advocated the introduction of progressive forms of education during the United Farmers' regime. While linkages between the ideas of these reformers and the more general orientations found in the pragmatic philosophy and the social gospel can be made, it is clear that successive U.F.A. administrations never enunciated an educational philosophy that was systematically related to either of these viewpoints. What remains to be determined is the extent to which these progressive educational orientations can be found in the following Department of Education sources: 1) the general character of the revised Grades I to XII programmes as manifested in the Departmental guides from 1922 to 1930; 2) the guidelines set forth in the above reviews as they applied to the Social Studies curriculum; and 3) the prescribed Social Studies elementary and secondary textual materials. An analysis of the above three areas should reveal the extent to which pragmatism and social gospel themes were present in Alberta's public system of schooling.

General Character of the Revised Grades I to XII Program

As noted previously, the Honourable G.P. Smith, announced a thorough-going view of the Course of Studies in 1919.[1] The views of public bodies and individuals were sought, and McNally was charged with this undertaking. This review was largely in response to pressures from farmer's groups and especially the U.F.W.A. McNally's first step was to

prepare a questionnaire for general distribution. This document invited the recipients to study the curriculum then in use and to transmit their views to the Department of Education. The questionnaire was sent specifically to such groups as organized farmers, farm women, women's institutes teachers' associations, trustee boards, boards of trade, and social clubs as well as to interested individuals. Many replies and suggestions were received. These were analyzed and summarized before being sent to committees for consideration. Two general committees were appointed, one for the elementary and one for the secondary school curriculum. McNally acted as chairman of both. Apart from representatives of the Alberta Education Association, the Teachers' Alliance, the city superintendents, and the inspectors, the remaining ten members of the elementary school committees laid down the broad lines along which the revision was to be made. It then placed these suggestions in the hands of professional subcommittees whose task it was to select experienced people for the actual re-writing of the various courses. The subcommittees met from time to time to consider, revise, and recommend for adoption the outlines submitted by the Committee. McNally was also chairman of these subcommittees which were given the task of re-writing the various courses from 1921 to 1922.[2]

In general, the curriculum of 1922 was only moderately pragmatic. The guide stated that it is the function of "the curriculum to put children in possession of their great intellectual heritage".[3] This was best interpreted "as a summary of the solutions of the various problems the race has devised up to the present moment".[4] According to the 1922 guide "not only must the child be made acquainted with the steps by which we have won our present position", but he should be involved in an "intelligent

participation in the various activities inevitable to our present social organization".[5] In 1922 at the initial meeting of the Legislature, P. Baker, the Minister of Education, described the Department's task as follows:

> The Department welcomes the opportunity of consultation with and advice from representative persons who have been named by their respective organizations to form the personnel of this committee. . . . The new course must be fexible and easily adaptable to the varying needs of the children of all parts of the Province. The curriculum must be made to contribute its full share to the development of character, right attitudes and good citizenship in Alberta youth. Finally the committee must produce a piece of work which will meet the demands of the public for an education which is more practical, that will appeal to educators as sound pedagogically and command enthusiastic support of the thousands of people in this Province who are interested in education.[6]

Thus, one observes that the curriculum was to be more practical, be sound pedagogically, and be able to meet the demands of the public. It was not a fully progressive curriculum in that it had some idealistic strains as indicated in the statement: "It is the function of the curriculum to put children in possession of their intellectual heritage".[7] But it was partly or moderately pragmatic as indicated in the statement: "The new course must be flexible and easily adaptable to the varying needs of the children of all parts of the province".[8] During the U.F.A. period the elementary curriculum was reviewed on three occasions, that is, in 1922, 1924 and 1929. The most significant changes occurred in 1922, and subsequent changes were of a minor nature. Changes at the elementary level that were introduced in 1922 had the following characteristics:

a) A greater number of optional subjects were offered especially at the Grade VII and VIII levels. The directive or optional courses were to occupy 20 per cent of the time.

b) An attempt was made to present units closely related to the child's pre-school experience, having its basis in his everyday environment, and so organized as to assist him in making more effective those adjustments which he will have to make anyway.[9]

A second major review occurred in 1934; however, this change was not implemented until 1935 approximately a year after the defeat of the U.F.A. by the Social Credit party.

The secondary revisions followed a somewhat similar pattern, the only major revision occurred from 1923 to 1925. The secondary curriculum guide issued in 1930 replicated earlier changes. Some of the significant changes endorsed by the secondary curriculum committee included: adoption of more electives in the public school, greater provision for vocational preparation and family life, adoption of a broader high school program than merely the academic route, and change from mental discipline to the concept of transfer of training. The mental discipline method emphasized the importance of developing the mind by means of memorization, classical logic and rote learning. The transfer of training method emphasized the importance of integrated learning and the interdependence of various disciplines. The guiding principle under which the general revision committee work required a curriculum that would be "flexible and easily adaptable to the needs of the children of all parts of the province".[10]

The Social Studies Programme

In terms of Social Studies at the elementary level the reform of 1922 continued many of the earlier themes; however, the elementary

guide emphasized at least two new objectives. First, the teaching of elementary history was to be made stimulating and exciting. The aim was not to teach historical data or facts, but rather to awaken an interest in the past and to create a disposition in the pupil to know more about it. Second, in elementary civics much attention was given to the development of group-consciousness, the development of the Group Spirit or the Social Mind, and the importance of cooperation in learning.[11] Thus, it is evident that the new elementary Social Studies program was moderately pragmatic and had some Social Gospel orientations unlike the previous Social Studies curriculum.

With respect to Social Studies at the secondary level the revision of 1923 to 1925 continued many of the earlier themes and methodologies. A fair amount of memory work was required in that the student was to organize and group his memory facts in such a way that recall is ready, accurate, and complete. However, the fact that history was to be taught like a science was a new development in keeping with a pragmatic approach to education. As the 1923, 1925 and 1930 guides indicate:

> But History is a science and the tasks required of the pupil in History should be those required in any other science. He should search for data, group them, and build generalizations thereon.[12]

Thus, the student was to follow a scientific method of study. The student was also required to be more familiar with current events so that he would be better equipped to deal with contemporary social, political, and economic problems. The emphasis on the scientific method and current events indicates that the curriculum was shifting gradually towards becoming more pragmatic.

In the discussion that follows the Social Studies guides will be reviewed in terms of three major sections: 1) History--Grades V to VIII;

2) History--Grades X and XI; and 3) Civics--Grades VII to VIII and Grade XI. Although these sections do not include all the grades in which these subjects were taught, they give a reasonably complete picture of the overall subject content. It should be noted that Geography was excluded from the Civics course in 1921 and remained outside of the regular Social Studies curriculum until 1935.

The activities of the Grade V history program did not involve the formal teaching of history. It was to be interwoven with oral language work and supplementary reading as opportunity suggested. The one main aim in using historical events and characters was to awaken an interest in the past and quicken a disposition on the part of the children to know more about it. No attempt was made to present a complete chronological account of the discovery, exploration, and the settlement of the Northwest.[13] In keeping with the above aim the method of presentation consisted in the use of graphic word-pictures of stirring events, and of interesting tales of adventure. The material was to be largely based on stories related to the winning of the Canadian West for civilization. These stories were to be sometimes read and sometimes told to the class. As much as possible, too, the children were to be allowed to have that enjoyment that would come from independent reading.[14] Pupils were also engaged in project work, activity assignments and group work, an emphasis much in accord with the cooperative methods and group politics of the U.F.A.

In Grade VI as well no formal study of history was required. The teacher's aim was still to arouse curiosity about life and past conditions. The pupils' interest in romance and stories of adventure were suggestions of the means and method to be used. As stories were told or read from

such works as "King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table", "Robin Hood and His Merry Men", and "Captain Cook's Voyages", it was believed that pictures of the past were formed in children's minds.[15] In assisting the pupils to develop these mental pictures, teachers would find many favorable opportunities for the indirect teaching of history. Pupils in Grade VI were considered to be at an age when organization had a strong appeal. The teacher had numerous opportunities of making reference to organization of different forms; the old English manor-life; the medieval town; producer's guilds; robber bands, national organization under Parliament; organization for voyages of discovery, for emigration, for establishing plantations, and so on.[16]

It was not intended that the books and stories mentioned in Grades V and VI courses be considered as the only ones suitable for use. Many teachers would find other sources equally suitable. The purpose was simply to use interesting legends, historical tales, and selections from works of fiction with historical reference in order to assist the pupils in forming a series of mental pictures of life and conditions during certain periods of history.

In the 1924 and 1929 guides the following statement is made regarding the aim of the Grade VI course:

> The aim of the course is to promote self-reliance, to establish in the mind of the pupils the value of cooperating through organizations, and the necessity of leadership. The exploits recounted and the eagerness of the band well organized and well led for action should stimulate the pupil and make for zest instead of passivity in his conduct. The teacher may with advantage organize one or more suitable groups (athletic, musical, literary, etc.) in the school, exercising a supervisory and inspirational guidance, but encouraging pupils' own initiative.[17]

Passivity on the part of the students was discouraged. Rather, they were to be actively engaged in projects, group assignments, and cooperative activities. The course was intended to give a picture, through narratives and biographies of the different organizations through which their ancestors passed. These momentous changes which preceded and led up to the modern idea of society were considered to be connected with the lives of outstanding leaders. The story of these leaders, so far as they influenced the trend of events, their historical significance, and the stirring incidents in which they played leading roles, were to receive emphasis and not purely the private details of their lives. In the mind of the pupil the course was to leave an indelible impression of the romantic side of Saxon times, Feudal times, the Crusades, and the lower classes in the era of Early Exploration. It was expected that the teacher would direct attention to the chronological sequence, use maps extensively in connection with the explorers, and from his superior knowledge elucidate points not clear. However, the teacher was not to use a didactic approach, that is, dictate notes or lecture.[18] A progressive idea was the suggestion that the pupils keep a personal history note book. The pupil was also required to narrate some interesting incident or biographical impression.[19] Thus, it is apparent that students in Grade VI were gaining information by doing things and not primarily by copying notes from the chalkboard.

However, in Grade VII the study of history took on a more formal aspect. In the 1922, 1924 and 1929 guides, the following statement is made in this regard:

> While the teacher should not hurry to build up a body of historical knowledge to be "committed to memory", an effort was to be made to develop in the pupil something of the "time sense".[20]

Nevertheless, pictures of the past, featuring developments in the social and industrial life of the groups under study were still considered important. Foundation work was to be done here that would provide a sure basis for history in Grade VIII, the final year of elementary education. Students in Grade VII examined topics from Feudalism up to immigration and settlement in Canada.[21] The method of learning included project work, debates, discussion, and dictation.

In Grade VIII the students examined the basis of British liberty, the reform of Parliament, Britain in the twentieth century, the achievement of responsible government in Canada, political parties in Canada, Canadian-U.S. relations, and World War I.[22] The method of learning included project work, debates, discussion and dictation. Students were required to write departmental examinations at this level and the concern seemed to be on covering a fixed amount of material.[23] In Grades V to VII the pupils were not expected to learn as many facts. Rather, the teaching method was more informal allowing the teacher and students greater freedom. There is virtually no change in the Social Studies guides of 1921, 1924 and 1929 at the elementary level. Except for brief references to such comments as the Social Mind, Group Spirit, and the development of a group-consciousness, the influence of the social gospel is not noticeable in the guides. There were some progressive notions at the elementary level such as cooperative activities, projects, and group work. However, very little of these educational reform measures can be found at the secondary school level.

The curriculum guides of Grades X and XI provide a good outline of the secondary history programs. Modern British history was placed in

Grade X in order to provide the necessary setting for the study in Canadian history in Grade XI. The 1925 guide clearly states the reason for this order:

> Our laws and institutions are for the most part fundamentally British in their origin and genius and therefore the proper foundation to their study is a knowledge of the history of the Motherland.[24]

The emphasis on the history of Great Britain is very similar to the themes stressed in the previous essentialist period. There was, for instance, the theme of exploration and expanding overseas trade and naval power under the Tudors. Reference was also made to the enclosure movement with its accompanying problem of vagabondage and its remedy through the poor law legislation. There was the topic of religious change--of the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation, of the struggle of the Puritans with the Anglicans, of the rise of Nonconformity and of the slow growth of religious toleration--a theme that carried the student through the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries and on into the Eighteenth and Nineteenth. There was also the topic of England's foreign affairs:

> So, too, does the topic of England's foreign policy with its central thread of support of the principal of the balance of power. The student should be shown how, on the whole, this policy has been consistently followed, leading England in the time of Philip II, of Louis XIV, of Napoleon, and of William II to become the champion and preserver of European liberties against threatening despotisms.[25]

Above all, however, three main developments of British history were emphasized since through them Britain had profoundly affected the rest of the world. First, there was the growth of the British Empire or of the Commonwealth of Nations which was considered a strong force in the modern world. Second, there was the development of Industrial Revolution in Britain which spread to other lands and was considered to have transformed

the world's material civilization. Third, there was the growth of British political liberty; how in England, first of all countries, Parliament grew up and won supremacy within the state. Finally, a description was given of how this democratic, parliamentary and cabinet system of government had been copied, with various changes, by most self-governing states throughout the world.[26]

The scientific method was to be used in teaching secondary history courses. The student was to search for data, group them, and build generalizations thereon. However, it is questionable how much of this method was used since the students were required to develop their memory faculty as well. The teaching methodology included discussions, debates and, particularly, the use of the lecture method. Teachers were encouraged to relate the British history to current issues and problems. In this sense, part of the course was practical in that it gave the students the opportunity to discuss and critique such issues as: "The Causes and Effects of World War I", "Canada's Growth in Autonomy", and "Racial Tensions in Canada". Although the study of Canadian history took place in Grade XI, some time in Grade X was spent on Canadian issues not only because Canada was part of the Commonwealth but also because it would make the study of history more relevant and practical.

A full study of Canadian history occurred in Grade XI. The course in Canadian history was placed late in syllabus, because it was considered desirable that any additional discussion of the problems of Canadian political and social development should aim to deal frankly and fairly with problems of fundamental significance to Canadians.[27] It was hoped that the previous study of British history in Grade X would enable the

student to approach Canadian history with the background of knowledge, the fairness of judgment, and the qualities of imagination necessary to study it effectively. Thus, in treating the struggle between Britain, Canada and the United States in 1814, the most scrupulous fairness should be shown, for on both sides in each case much could be said in praise as well as blame, and to see that justification on both sides would clearly work for the removal of prejudice. Similarly, in treating internal affairs, the scales were to be held between creed and creed, between party and party, and between race and race. Students were not to get the impression that British statesmen such as Durham, Elgin, and Grey were stubborn, reluctant, or obtuse in the matter of Responsible Government in Canada or British North America. Similarly, the utmost fairness was to be shown in dealing with racial issues, most particularly English-French relations. Canadian history was to be taught as to give English-speaking Canadians a clear and sympathetic understanding of French-Canadians and vice versa. It was considered that on such mutual understanding, tolerance, and the cooperation which would spring from it, depended the unity and prosperity of Canada. In terms of themes in history, however, the new course is not really that much different from the previous essentialist period.

The themes of the essentialist period and the U.F.A. period were basically the same as at the high school Social Studies level. The British Empire was still emphasized in the latter period but not to the same degree as before 1921. The emphasis on Canadian history in the second period is indicative of the trend towards a more practical course of studies. Through the teaching of Canadian history the student was brought in close contact with the world around him.

The methods of teaching high school Social Studies were different in the two periods. In the essentialist period the lecture method used almost exclusively whereas in the second period discussions, debates, group work, and the lecture method were all used. However, the latter was still used extensively despite the trend towards newer forms of pedagogy.[28]

In general, it must be conceded that the secondary history guides were not as practical or as locally oriented as the elementary guides. The main reason for this was that the nature of the secondary texts, lent themselves well to the lecture method. Although debates, discussions, and research work were included in the history courses, the lecture method was used most frequently. Although no major revisions were made until the Social Credit party assumed office, proposals for a radically different approach to Social Studies instruction were made in 1934. It has been shown that history curriculum guides indicated a trend towards a more pragmatic type of education. The influence of the social gospel in the secondary guides was minimal. A similar trend towards a more pragmatic type of education occurs in the elementary Civics curriculum guides.

The teaching of Civics was closely related to the teaching of History. The influence of the U.F.A. Government with its emphasis on group politics is possibly responsible for the nature of the Civics program. In Grades I and II the main aim was to cultivate the development of group-consciousness through such exercises as nature-study trips, group activities in school concerts, school pageants and school fairs. In Grades III and IV the main aim was to cultivate the experience children gain from membership in organized social groups.[29] Importance was attached to the development of Group-Spirit or the Social Mind. Group activities such as class

projects, class concerns, and class excursions were to be used as a means of revealing the responsibilities, obligations, and benefits involved in membership in organized social groups.

The aim in Grades V and VI Civics was to cultivate further experiences in organization. At this stage of child development, education was to be based on the children's natural organizational tendencies. The direct means of teaching Civics was to consist mainly of various forms of socialized activities in school-life, that is, exercises suited to the formation and functioning of pupils' organizations. Suggested forms of group organization included:

> a) The introduction of project work; by organization of the class into pupil-groups for discussions, debates, matches, or competitions.
>
> b) Organization of the whole school's Literary Society with its various committees, e.g., of the whole School's Debating League with inter-class debates, class presentations, league management committees; or of the School Paper with its staff; or of the School Horticultural Society, and the United Farmers' Mock Council.[30]

The emphasis on group work, active student involvement and the importance of cooperation is evident in the suggested activities mentioned above.

The aim in Grades VII and VIII Civics was to use the children's experience in organization to reveal the nature and value of institutions of political communities. Students in Grade VII, for example, were to study the classroom as a unit of the organized school, each under the management of a teacher; the chief duties of the teacher; the teacher's authority as similar to that of parents; and as delegated by school authorities. Most importantly, the students would study the larger community termed "province" and the benefits to the individual as a member of that community, for example, national education; public health, transport-

ation facilities and the protection of life and property from the insane and criminals.[31] In Grade VIII the pupils studied Parliamentary government--the institution of Cabinet government as well as the party system. The students were required to study the English system of government; the King, the Cabinet, the Parliament--the House of Commons, House of Lords, and their composition and main powers. Finally, the students were to examine similar features within the Canadian system of government.[32]

In general, it can be said that group work, group activities, and project work were the basic methods of study in Civics. It was important to cultivate the development of group-consciousness, group-spirit, and group organization in order to reveal the nature and value of the institutions of the political community. Thus, it was by means of cooperative activities that students gained a knowledge of provincial and national politics. It is likely that the U.F.A. Government's emphasis on group politics and cooperation affected the nature of the study in elementary Civics. Except for the emphasis on the group or the collectivity, there appears to be little impact of the social gospel in the elementary Civics curriculum.

At the secondary school level the student was required to study Civics in Grade XI only. The 1930 guide for Grade XI Civics states:

> For Canada, a member of the British Commonwealth, the study of Civics falls naturally into four main divisions, namely: Imperial, Federal, Provincial, and Municipal or Local.[33]

Since the power of self-government originated with the first unit and was gradually granted to the others, the above sequence was considered the logical order of treatment. In developing the subject, it was considered necessary to ensure that the student obtained a thorough grasp of the composition and

powers of each of these levels of government, noting the authority and limitations of each. The student was to be given a clear conception, also, of the further division of authority within each unit into legislative, executive, and judicial powers. The significance of whatever part of actual government that came within the range of the student's personal experience was to be clearly explained and emphasized. It was considered that the study of Civics would naturally lead to broader conception of the whole working of government if the teaching was supplemented by a habit of reading current events from day to day. In this way, the trend of economic developments could be closely related with that of political tendencies, as the one was seen to be intimately related with the other. An effort was to be made not simply to teach the bare facts of government but also to observe and study in a concrete way "the working out of the system as applied to everyday life in the local community, province, Dominion, or Empire".[34] It was to be borne in mind that the study of Civics was not merely to gain a knowledge of facts, but to equip the student with a clear comprehension of the application of government, so that the student would be encouraged and stimulated to take an intelligent part in civic affairs. It can be seen that the nature of Grade XI Civics course was moderately pragmatic in nature because of its emphasis in issues raised in current events.

The history guides at the elementary level encouraged the teacher to arouse the child's curiosity in history by means of interesting history talks, colourful illustrations, and graphic mental pictures. The Civics elementary guide demonstrated a real concern for making the courses practical and relevant to the pupils. The methods employed in teaching elementary Civics involved group work, activity assignments, cooperative activities and projects. One of the primary aims of elementary Civics

was the development of a group-consciousness or the Social Mind in the pupil.

Secondary history courses dealt with similar themes as in the previous essentialist period. The importance of the British Empire was still considered vital even though Canada's growth in autonomy was noted. The secondary Civics guides were somewhat practical in nature but the content was basically the same. Further to this the students were still to learn a certain degree of factual information. The content too showed a real concern for maintaining a dual loyalty to Canada and to the British Empire. The elementary history texts also demonstrated a trend towards a more pragmatic type of education.

The Elementary History Texts

At the Grade V level during this period D. Dickie's When Canada Was Young (1925) and Dickie's In Pioneer Days were two of the recommended texts. The content largely related to the stories concerning the winning of the Canadian West for civilization. The method of presentation consisted in the use of graphic word-pictures of stirring events and interesting tales of adventure. For example, Dickie's text, When Canada Was Young, contained numerous coloured illustrations throughout the text such as "An Acadian Village", "Habitant Homes", and "Ancient Seigniory in Quebec". Typical stories included "Champlain's Plan", "Talon and the Great West" and the "The Battle of the Plains of Abraham".[35] Stories from In Pioneer Days included "The Expulsion of the Acadians", "The First Parliament", "The Camp Meeting", "Making Soap", and "A Boy's Letter".[36] Some of these stories led the pupils to engage in such practical activities as "Mock Parliament", "Letter Writing", and "Making Candles". A pragmatic approach to education

is evident here. It is apparent that the factual approach to the learning of history was not emphasized and that the main aim of history was to stimulate interest in the pupils to learn more about history.

Similar comments can be made of the Grade VI text commonly used in history at this time. W.S. Wallace's By Star and Compass (1923) was in line with this new approach to the teaching of history by the story or of mental picture method. Wallace states in the preface:

> The purpose of this text is to set forth a series of stories illustrating the history of Canadian exploration, linked together by such brief comments as seems to be necessary.[37]

The author stated that the text was an attempt to put into story form some of the achievements with an interest which was lacking in historical narratives of the traditional type. His text included numerous illustrations and stories such as "Legend of Leif the Lucky", "The Secret of the St. Lawrence", "The Outlawed Smuggler", and "An Arctic Mystery".[38] Such interesting titles indicated the new approach to be taken in the teaching of elementary history:

> These historical tales were put into writing long after the events which they purport to describe; and they differ greatly in their details. Indeed, so great an authority as the Norwegian explorer, Nansen, has expressed the opinion that they are almost wholly mythical and untrustworthy. He will not admit that they prove more than the fact that Northmen visited the New World. Other scholars, however, have placed more reliance in the details of the story contained in the sagas and perhaps the outlines of the story have a basis in fact. At any rate, what the sagas tell us is so strong and romantic that it may not be amiss to set down here a version of their stories for what it may be worth.

Pictures of the past featuring developments in the social and industrial life of Canadians were considered most important. In addition, the stories

would lend themselves to drama, discussion, and project work. Just enough new kinds of material and method of presentation were to be introduced here as would provide the basis for that semi-formal study of history in Grade VII.

In 1922 the text used in history for Grades VII and VIII was E.S. Symes and G.M. Wrong's An English History.[40] Topics studies in Grade VII included the social and industrial changes in England from 1450 to 1603, British Rule in Canada, the American Revolution, and the War of 1812. Grade VIII was primarily concerned with the Industrial Revolution in England and particular attention was paid to the growth of Great Britain, and the great inventions and political reforms of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The study of Canada in Grade VIII included such topics as Confederation, the Canadian Pacific Railway, and a study of the causes and effects of World War I especially as they related to Canada.[41] In the preface of this text E.S. Symes states:

> In adapting the present volume for the use of Elementary Schools in Canada the editor has ventured not only to alter considerably the original text, but also to introduce new matter, which might fit the book the better for use by Canadian pupils.[42]

The teachers were to make the course in Grade VII practical and were urged not to hurry to build up a body of knowledge to be memorized.[43] Thus debates, discussions, and project work were still the teaching methods primarily used. However, by Grade VIII a more formal study of history was required. In addition to the other methods of teaching, the lecture method was frequently used as well. By 1925, however, a new textbook for Grades VII and VIII was issued; namely, W.S. Wallace's A New History of Great Britain and Canada. Wallace described his approach as follows:

> The method of treatment adopted in the book demands a word or two of explanation. The book is written

> primarily for Canadians; and consequently, in the section dealing with British history, only those phases of British history of interest and importance to Canadians are described. Great Britain's three gifts to the world have been her Empire, her Parliament, and her literature.[44]

Canada was considered to have shared this heritage to a very special degree. Therefore, it was deemed essential that Canadians know something about the British Empire, her Parliament and literature. But it was not considered necessary for students to know much about such matters of British history as British foreign policy or British wars on the continent. Wallace thought that the chronological treatment found in most texts killed the narrative interest which he considered to be the charm of history. With the topical treatment of history "each thread was followed out; and each section became a story in itself".[45] To this the treatment of Canadian history lent itself with especial facility as Wallace remarks:

> First comes the story of discovery and exploration; then the story of colonization and immigration; then the final story of political development; and finally the story of Canada's relations with the United States, her only neighbour.[46]

British history in Grade VII dealt with the Restoration and the Revolution in the early eighteenth century. It included a study of the growth of the British Empire including the voyages of discovery and the rise of English colonies in North America. Canadian history in Grade VII included the discovery and exploration in North America and the settlement of Canada.[47] Topics to be studied included "Explorers of the Last Century", "The Colony of New France", and the "Settlement of the New Great West".[48] Discussions, debates, project work and some dictation of notes were the methods used.

The pedagogical methods used in the elementary grades tended to be pragmatic in nature and unlike the traditional rote-like approach that

characterized the teaching of history previously.

Grade VIII history included a study of the British nation from 1714 to the twentieth century. It also included an in depth study of the growth of the British Empire in terms of such topics as the English in India, the British under the Southern Cross, the British in Africa, and the British Empire of Today.[49] Pupils also studied the history of English political development in this grade. Topics examined included the Origin of English Parliament, the Reform of Parliament, and the Growth of Cabinet Government. Students learned about Responsible Government, the story of Canadian National Unity, Political Parties in Canada, the War of 1812, and the various boundary disputes between Canada and the United States.[50] The study of history in Grade VIII was to be more formal in nature:

> The Grade VIII course is based upon the prescribed text. The sections to be studied are clearly indicated. A knowledge of the material in the texts will be regarded as satisfactory, and departmental examinations will be based on this material only.[51]

It would appear that a more pragmatic type of education was advocated from Grades I to VII in history in that project work, activity work, and cooperative group assignments were the most common methods of teaching.[52] The social gospel appears to have had little impact on the material in the elementary history texts.

Secondary History Texts

The concentration of the Grade X course in history was clearly on Britain and the British Empire. British history was placed in Grade X in order to provide the necessary setting for the study of Canadian history and civics in Grade XI. R.B. Mowat's text, A New History of Great Britain, was the prescribed text as early as 1925 and in 1928 when it was

issued in revised form.[53] Rather than using a factual approach to the teaching of history, certain themes were to be followed such as English exploration, English expansion and naval power under the Tudors, the Protestant Reformation, the Counter Reformation, religious toleration, and England's foreign policy during these times. Mowat indicated that British foreign policy had been consistently followed from the time of Philip II to World War I and that England had become the champion and preserver of European liberties against threatening despotism.[54] Students were expected to take a just pride in their citizenship in the British Commonwealth, a conviction that was not to be founded on mere victories over states or people. Rather it was related to the 'fact' that in the main, the British people had stood throughout their long history for freedom and justice in the world and that they had made great, enduring contributions to civilization.[55] Canada also gained a new status as a result of these British tendencies:

> The position of the Dominions was further defined by a Committee of the Imperial Conference of 1926. This committee reported that Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions are 'autonomous within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to the other in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs'.[56]

Students were to understand that the whole question of the relationship between Imperial Government and the Dominions was in a state of flux and development, and that the Dominions, as a result of the Great War had obtained a status in the Commonwealth of equal partnership with Great Britain. Such a view contrasted with views obtained in pre-war texts.[57] This fact concerning Canada's growth in autonomy was practical for a Canadian citizen to know in that it would help the student to take a greater pride in being a Canadian.

Mowat claimed that if new texts were never written in history, both teaching and learning would soon become stereotyped. It is true that facts remained the same, but current events about them varied almost from year to year. For example, in the reign of Queen Victoria it was necessary for a well-educated man to know much concerning foreign affairs and the Empire.[58] But in 1925 the orientation of people's minds was not quite the same. Constitutional affairs were still important, but in addition a deeper knowledge of economics and social history were considered necessary for every person who wanted to understand trends in English and Canadian societies.[59] The interest in social history was a relatively new approach. Social and economic history was seen to be more practical than military and constitutional history. Students were expected to appreciate the study of social reform measures. This type of history could be seen to correspond with the social gospel emphasis on creating a new social order and with pragmatic views. It appears that Grade X history was somewhat pragmatic in nature since there was less emphasis on facts and more emphasis on concepts, themes, and ideas. In addition the students were to relate history to current events and thus were to gain a better appreciation of their country's past. However, it does not appear that a scientific method of the study of history took place in Grade X history or in subsequent grades.

Grade XI dealt with Canadian themes which were outlined in W.L. Grant's A History of Canada (1923). Grant indicated that he wanted to make history more meaningful and colourful:

> The writer of a history of Canada which is to be used by teachers and pupils differing widely in religious, in racial origin, and in party affiliation, must avoid alike the obtrusion of his own prejudices, and the presentation of story colourless and insipid.[60]

His text gave considerable attention to the study of Royal Government in North America, the Seven Years War, the War of 1812, and the material and social progress in Upper and Lower Canada in the 1830s. The rebellions of 1837-38 in Upper and Lower Canada were also reviewed since these events eventually led to the Durham Report and the Act of Union.[61] The concept stressed here was the development of responsible government.[62] The events leading to Confederation were also examined such as the building of the C.P.R., the Pacific Scandal, and the Manitoba School Question. The Great War of 1914 to 1918 was presented as an epoch-making event in that Canada was in the process of achieving an autonomous status by such events as the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, the Chanak Incident of 1922, and the Halibut Treaty of 1923.[63] Contemporary issues such as World War I were studied - not only because it was such a significant event but because it would appeal to the students in a relevant and practical way.

Unlike the traditional factual-laden texts of the previous essentialist period, Grant's text contained numerous illustrations such as "The Arrival of Champlain at Quebec", "General Wolfe", and "The Parliament Buildings at Ottawa".[64] Maps were to be used to show how closely Canadian history had been conditioned by geography. The "Comparative Table of Events" which preceded the index attempted to link the story of Canada with the history of the world.[65] The method of teaching Grade XI history was also topical or thematic in nature unlike the traditional chronological approaches which tended to deaden the narrative. In order to improve the overall Canadian perspective, a number of passages in Grant's text were re-written so that the Canadian West would be given its proper due.[66] Grant's text lent itself fairly easily to a pragmatic approach since there was less emphasis on facts and more emphasis on concepts, themes, and ideas. In

addition, students were to relate Canadian history to contemporary issues so that the study would be more meaningful and relevant to them. One can detect the possible influence of the social gospel in the Grade X history course but apart from Mowat's text the influence of this movement is not evident.

Although there was a tendency to lecture at the secondary level, it would appear that the factual method of teaching was not as widely used as it was in the previous essentialist period. The text indicated that the factual approach to the teaching of elementary Civics was only used in Grade VIII.

Elementary Civics Texts

The teacher's reference text in 1922 for Grade VIII Civics was John D. Hunt's The Dawn of a New Patriotism. In his preface, Hunt states:

> While outside assistance and instructors are valuable and should be made use of where available, the best method of advancing the interest of a community is for its members to cooperate and organize for the development of local talent. If there is in existence in the community a suitable organization such as a Canadian Club, a Homemaker's Club, or a Local Union of the Farmers, advantage may be taken of such organizations to introduce this book as the basis for a series of studies and discussions.[67]

Students were encouraged to read other material such as magazines and newspapers. General subjects for debate were selected with a view to having interesting, up-to-date, thought compelling topics. For example, in the section on "The Meaning of Democracy" the subject for debate was: "Resolved, that modern civilization is a failure".[68] Arguments for the affirmative included:

> 1) Civilization encourages artificiality of life, hypocrisy, inequality, tyranny, and misery.

> 2) Civilization has produced the greatest war the world has ever known, with atrocities and cruelties of most refined nature.[69]

Arguments for the negative included:

> 1) Civilization has an irresistible tendency to refine men, beginning with the upper classes and spreading to the lower.
>
> 2) Practically all the great humanitarian movements were born in the last century;. . . . Organized charity, social settlements, temperance reform, anti-slavery reform, prison reform, Young Men's Christian Associations, foreign missions--all of them are part of the nineteenth century.[70]

With such guidelines the Grade VII students were expected to engage in lively and informed discussion. On the section dealing with "Remedies for the Evils of Society" the subject for debate was "Resolved, that it is part of the duty of a church to provide amusements".[71] Arguments for the affirmative included:

> 1) The church should guard against the intrusion of a worldly spirit. Many people have been hindered in the spiritual advancement by adhesion to a church which busied itself in the concerns of the world.[72]
>
> 2) Churches have erred over and over again in the vain attempt to serve both God and the world. Compromise has always ended in abuse.[73]

The influence of the social gospel is evident in some of these practical questions. In addition to debates there were discussion topics on such matters as "Democracy and Freedom", "Voting and Democracy" and "Relations of Rulers and Subjects".[74] It can be seen that the Grade VII course in Civics involved such practical teaching procedures as debates and discussions.

Grade VIII Civics mainly dealt with the development of Representative and Responsible Government, Parliamentary Government, and the develop-

ment of the party system.[75] The method of teaching was by means of debates, discussions, and worksheets. Typical questions on the worksheets included the following:

> 1) What were the chief provisions of the Second Reform Bill?
>
> 2) When, and by whom, was the Ballot Act passed?
>
> 3) Distinguish between Representative and Responsible Government?[76]

Grade VIII Civics provided ample opportunity for discussion work and the answering of factual questions. It was more formal than Grade VII Civics. However, this changed by 1925 with the introduction of James McCaig's Studies in Citizenship. McCaig's text was practical in nature and was in keeping with the trend towards a more pragmatic type of education. In this respect McCaig says in his prefatory note:

> The questions at the end of each section or chapter for the most part cannot be answered directly from the text and are not necessarily to be taken up in class. They are included to serve as a means of enforcing the information given and to encourage the pupils to gather for themselves further material relating to the topics dealt with in the various chapters.[77]

The questions raised often called for some local research and community work. Typical questions from the text at the Grade VII level on the topic of "Finding an Occupation" were:

> 2) Have you ever changed your mind in reference to the vocation you would like to follow? Why did you change your mind? Have you had any "try-out" experience? If so, what was the result?[78]
>
> 5) Do you know any boys and girls who have left your community to take up a vocation elsewhere, and who have been a success? Do you know why they succeeded? Do you know any who have made a failure? Do you know why they failed?[79]

As one can observe these questions were practical and lent themselves to active work in the community. Other questions encouraged students to think through hypothetical situations and demanded a certain degree of careful thought, planning, and reasoning. They were not the rote-like questions so typical of the previous essentialist period.

Grade VII Civics dealt with the political life of the community. The government of Canada was studied in depth including such topics as "Responsible Government in Canada", "The Parliament of Canada", and "Relations with Great Britain".[80] The questions were practical and related to the students' needs. Equally important the questions tended to be thought-provoking as is indicated in the following questions from McCaig's unit on the "Parliament of Canada":

> 3) Would it be a good plan to have the Senators elected by the provincial legislatures? Should an appointed body like the Senate have the power to defeat the will of the House of Commons, the direct representatives of the people? Should the Senate be abolished or reformed? What is its value at present?[81]
>
> 6) Find out all you can about how the census is taken. When was the last census taken in your province?[82]

A factual approach to the teaching of Civics was not advocated in Grades VII and VIII. The questions called for active research in the community, the gathering of information and the organization of the same.[83] The facts and concepts of citizenship were to be gained through class discussion on issues which would affect the students in the near future.

Secondary Civics Texts

R.S. Jenkins' text, Canadian Civics (1920), was used in the Grade XI course in Civics. Its chief aim was to explain the federal system of government and its relation to the provincial system. Part I of the text

dealt with international and national affairs including the British Empire, the Dominions, provinces, parliamentary government, taxation and expenditure.[84] Part II dealt with provincial government, municipal government, courts of law, education, and the duties and rights of citizenship.[85]

J.G. Bourinot's text, How Canada is Governed (1895-1935), was also used in the Grade XI Civics course. According to the curriculum guide it would appear that more attention was paid to this text than to Jenkins' work since the order of treatment of topics suggested in the guide is very similar to the general structure of Bourinot's text. The first part dealt with the growth of the constitution including the political growth of Canada and the federal union. In addition, the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the Imperial government were studied in depth.[86] The course was to be made as practical as possible even though the study was more formal in nature. The significance of whatever part of actual government that came within the range of the student's personal experience was to be clearly explained and emphasized. To make it more meaningful the teaching of secondary Civics was to be supplemented by the daily reading of current events.[87]

That the course was not only factual in nature is evidenced in the following:

> An effort should be made not simply to teach the bare facts of government, but also to observe in a concrete way the working out of the system as applied to everyday life in the local community, province, Dominion, or Empire.[88]

It was to be borne in mind that the study of Civics was not only to provide the student with a knowledge of facts, but to equip the student with a clear comprehension of the application of government, so that he would be

encouraged and stimulated to take an active part in civic affairs. Students also examined Sections 91 and 92 of the British North American Act in order to attain a clearer understanding of the powers and jurisdiction of the federal and provincial governments.

Thus students in Grade XI were to be equipped with the knowledge and practical information in order to be effective citizens. Grade XI Civics was the last year that the students would have the opportunity to study this subject. Hence, it was important that they gained a thorough knowledge of the duties and rights of Canadian citizenship. In this sense the course was practical. However, there was also a tendency to concentrate on factual knowledge as well. Thus, Grade XI Civics could be considered moderately pragmatic--less practical than in the Civics program in Grades VII and VIII.

In this chapter it has been shown that the elementary History and Civics guides and texts were of a practical nature. This is especially true of elementary Civics where group activities, project work, and debates were the common practice. The secondary History and Civics guides and texts were moderately practical in nature. The emphasis was upon the students attaining an understanding of the basic themes, topics, and concepts in History and Civics. The factual approach to the learning of History and Civics was less emphasized than in the previous essentialist period. It is possible that the cooperative influences of the U.F.A. and the social gospel movement affected the elementary Civics curriculum in that cooperative activities, group work, and project work were the principal teaching strategies. At the secondary level the influence of the U.F.A. and the social gospel movement is much less evident. At the secondary level an attempt was made to make the Social Studies curriculum practical and at the same time ensure that

students attained a degree of factual and conceptual knowledge of History and Civics. The trend at both the elementary and secondary levels in Social Studies was towards a more pragmatic type of education.

It is apparent that there was a gradual movement within the Social Studies curriculum to de-emphasize the rote approach to learning and to encourage activities which permitted greater student reflection and involvement. When the Department of Education issued its 1934 proposals that later became known as the Enterprise Programme, one could say that it was not a radical recommendation but, rather, another step in the long process towards implementing a progressive Social Studies curriculum.

FOOTNOTES

[1]H.T. Coutts & B.E. Walker, G. Fred (Don Mills: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1964) p. 62.

[2]Ibid.

[3]English and Citizenship, Part I of the Course of Studies (Edmonton: J.W. Jeffery, King's Printer, 1922) p. 3.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., p. 4.

[7]Ibid., p. 3.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid., p. 5.

[10]Ibid., p. 4.

[11]Ibid., pp. 130-132.

[12]Second Interim Report of the Committee on High School Education (Edmonton: J.W. Jeffery, King's Printer, 1923) p. 75 (1925) p. 92; (1930) pp. 69-70.

[13]English and Citizenship, op. cit., pp. 137-138.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid., p. 138.

[16]Ibid.

[17]English and Citizenship, Part I of the Programme of Studies For The Elementary Schools of Alberta, Grades I TO VIII inclusive (Edmonton: J.W. Jeffery, King's Printer, 1924) p. 135; (1929) p. 136.

[18]English and Citizenship, op. cit., 1924, p. 136; (1929) p. 137.

[19]English and Citizenship, op. cit., 1924, p. 136; 1929, p. 137.

[20]English and Citizenship, Part I of the Course of Studies, Grades I to VIII inclusive (Edmonton: J.W. Jeffery, King's Printer, 1922) p. 143; (1924) p. 37; (1929) p. 139.

[21]English and Citizenship, op. cit., 1922, pp. 143-145; 1924, p. 137; 1929, pp. 139-141.

[22]English and Citizenship, op. cit., 1922, pp. 145-147; 1924, pp. 140-142; 1929, pp. 142-146.

[23]English and Citizenship, Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools, Grades I to VIII (Edmonton: W.D. McLean, King's Printer, 1929) p. 142.

[24]Handbook for the Secondary Schools of Alberta (Edmonton: J.W. Jeffery, King's Printer, 1925) p. 93; (1930) p. 70.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Handbook for the Secondary Schools of Alberta, op. cit., 1925, p. 96; 1930, p. 73.

[27]Handbook for the Secondary Schools of Alberta, op. cit., 1925, p. 96; 1930, p. 76.

[28]Handbook for the Secondary Schools of Alberta, op. cit., 1925, pp. 101-102; 1930, pp. 76-77.

[29]English and Citizenship, Part I of the Course of Studies for the Elementary Schools of Alberta (Edmonton: J.W. Jeffery, King's Printer, 1922) pp. 132-134.

[30]Ibid., p. 136.

[31]Ibid., pp. 141-142.

[32]Ibid., p. 142.

[33]Handbook for the Secondary Schools of Alberta, op. cit., 1925, p. 98; 1930, p. 76.

[34]Textbooks and Grade Levels (H.T. Coutts Library, The Red Book, 1890 to the present).

[35]D.J. Dickie, When Canada Was Young (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1925) p. 6.

[36]D.J. Dickie, In Pioneer Days (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1925) p. 6.

[37]W.S. Wallace, By Star and Compass (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1925) p. 2.

[38]Ibid., p. 3.

[39]Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[40]English and Citizenship, op. cit., p. 145.

[41]Ibid., pp. 145-146.

[42]E.S. Symes, An English History (Toronto: The Copp Clark Company Ltd., 1905) p. 1.

[43]English and Citizenship, op. cit., 1922, p. 143; 1924, p. 137; 1929, p. 139.

[44]W.S. Wallace, A New History of Great Britain and Canada (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1925) p. v.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid., pp. v-vi.

[47]W.S. Wallace, A New History of Great Britain and Canada, op. cit., 1925, p. iii; pp. 31-91.

[48]Ibid., p. iii.

[49]Ibid., p. x.

[50]Ibid., p. iv; pp. 141-169.

[51]English and Citizenship, op. cit., 1929, p. 142.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Textbooks and Grade Levels (H.T. Coutts Library, The Red Book, 1890 to the present).

[54]R.B. Mowat, A New History of Great Britain (London: Oxford University Press, 1925) pp. 698-699.

[55]Ibid., pp. 750-751.

[56]Ibid., p. 746.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Ibid., p. vi.

[59]Ibid., p. vii.

[60]W.L. Grant, History of Canada (Montreal: Renouf Publishing Company, 1923) p. vii.

[61]Ibid., pp. 193-196.

[62]Ibid., pp. 201-205.

[63]Ibid., pp. 399-400.

[64]Ibid., p. xiii.

[65]Ibid., pp. 437-457; p. vii.

[66]Ibid., p. vii.

[67]John D. Hunt, The Dawn of a New Patriotism (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1917) pp. vi-vii.

[68]Ibid., p. 11.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Ibid., p. 12.

[71]Ibid., p. 112.

[72]Ibid., pp. 112-113.

[73]Ibid., pp. 114-116.

[74]Ibid., p. xvii.

[75]Ibid., p. xviii.

[76]Ibid., p. 282.

[77]James McCaig, Studies in Citizenship (Toronto: The Educational Book Company Ltd., 1925) p. i.

[78]Ibid.

[79]Ibid., p. 85.

[80]Ibid., p. viii.

[81]Ibid., p. 171.

[82]Ibid., p. 201.

[83]Ibid., p. 242.

[84]R.S. Jenkins, Canadian Civics (Toronto: The Copp-Clark Company Ltd., 1920) p. iii.

[85]Ibid.

[86]J.G. Bourinot, How Canada is Governed (Toronto: The Copp-Clark Company Ltd., 1918) pp. ix-x.

[87]Handbook for the Secondary Schools in Alberta, op. cit., 1925, pp. 98-99; 1930, p. 77.

[88]J.G. Bourinot, How Canada is Governed (Toronto: The Copp-Clark Company Ltd., 1918) pp. v-vii.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to compare the prevailing philosophical orientations of the leaders of two political regimes during the period from 1896 to 1935, and the impact that these orientations had upon the History, Geography and Civics curricula and selected texts in these areas. It was argued that ethical idealism was the general political temperament of the initial period, 1896 to 1921, and that political leaders of the Northwest Territories such as F.W.G. Haultain and A.C. Rutherford subscribed to the tenets of idealism during this time. The Ministers of Education also were concerned with the values, virtues and standards associated with British institutions. The study attempted to identify the extent to which these tenets were found in the Social Studies curriculum and texts. During this period, the teaching methodology was strongly Herbartian and, for the most part, emphasized drill, rote learning and memorization.

In terms of the Social Studies curriculum it was shown that the elementary Geography texts, especially F.W. Parker's How to Study Geography, reflected an idealist perspective or Weltanschauung. The History and Civics texts also showed a pervasive concern with respect to moral development and the development of patriotic citizens. Important figures in British and Canadian Histories were studied in order that the students would make moral judgments on their actions and hence derive principles of conduct. Civics texts attempted to develop a dual loyalty in the students to Canada and to the British Empire from 1896 to 1921.

In Grades XI and XII (especially Grade XII) all periods of History were studied from comparative and imperial perspectives. It pointed out

the superiority of the British Empire over any other empire in the past. The emphasis with respect to methodology in the teaching of History was clearly that students were to learn a basic body of knowledge in general history. In keeping with the idealist's tradition, this knowledge and the transmission of the same was considered as fundamental in that students were to know the past so that they would be able to make better decisions in the present and future. As Bourinot remarks in his preface to How Canada is Governed, there was also a heavy emphasis upon the British Empire.

> I have borne in mind the fact that a citizen of Canada is not merely a citizen of Canada, and as such has duties and obligations to discharge within the Dominion and Province, but that he is also a citizen of the greatest and noblest empire that the world has ever seen.[1]

Although partisan politics characterized the establishment of Alberta's first provincial government, the new Liberal administration's philosophical orientation remained similar to the position held by Haultain. From 1905 to 1921, the Liberals were in power in Alberta and, as B.E. Walker noted in his dissertation, they were considered a conservative force in education. Rote learning, drill, and classical logic were the key strategies of teaching. As early as 1918, G.P. Smith, Minister of Education, attempted to make a thorough-going review of the school curriculum. This action was taken in response to the agitation of the members of the U.F.W.A. Leaders of this association such as I. Parlby, R. Gunn, and A. Rogers advocated a more pragmatic type of education. They believed in a system of progressive education that would encourage children to choose farming as their vocation and that would also involve them in creative and practical activities while in school. H. Newland, Supervisor of Schools, agreed with this but went even further and wanted the schools to help in building a new social order.

Newland's views were the most radical of the progressives in Alberta. For him the new social order meant a rejection of the capitalist system and a putting aside of much of the transcendentalism of traditional Christianity. In this regard, he was strongly influenced by George S. Counts, a prominent American progressive educator.

Curriculum reform measures commenced under the Liberal regime in 1918 and were continued under the U.F.A. administration. By the mid-twenties, provincial educators such as Gorman, Hay, Newland, and Dickie were advocating progressive education. Despite this leadership, progressive education developed gradually in Alberta until 1935. Consequently, curriculum reform measures followed an identical pattern for the period under discussion. Eventually, the reforms initiated by the U.F.A. government were enacted in 1934 and, by 1935, were implemented by the Social Credit party.

What are some conclusions that can be reached from this research? First, it seems evident that such dominant personalities as Goggin or Haultain had an effect on school curricula. Certainly, these men wanted an educational system that was free, compulsory, uniform and secular which entailed moral or ethical overtones. At the same time, these leaders emphasized pro-British ideals, Protestant Anglo-Saxon Christianity, and high moral standards. It appears that they considered ideals and ethics synonymous with Protestant British values. The Social Studies curriculum guides written by provincial personnel and the texts selected support this conclusion.

The content of the History texts during the time 1921 to 1935 were not radically changed except there was less emphasis on the British Empire and an increasing awareness of Canada's evolving autonomy. By this time

the method of teaching was different at the elementary level. The rote-like approach to learning was almost completely removed. In History, Geography and Civics the main concern was that the students be encouraged and stimulated to learn more about History and their curiosity be aroused so that they would take a greater interest in the subject. Instead of learning by rote and recitation, students were encouraged to do activity work, community research work, and project work. According to McKillop, idealism was on the wane and the transition to pragmatism or empiricism was evident paralleling a general Western shift from evangelicalism and traditional Christianity to social salvation. The concern at this time was for the plight of mankind in society. Social gospellers such as Irvine and Bland even denied that personal salvation was possible without social salvation. Hence, the shift from traditional Christianity to a concern for the everyday needs of the people.

Similarly, teachers were concentrating on group projects, assignments and community research work. It is reasonable to conclude that the philosophical shift in Western Canada to an emphasis on the collectivity was responsible, at least in part, for the gradual change in the Alberta Social Studies curriculum.

The same progressive spirit of education was clearly espoused in the contents of the proposals of the Committee of Educational Reform. The work of this committee, along with other factors, culminated in the 1935 educational reforms implemented by the Social Credit government.

Recommendations

The recommendations for further research include the following:

1) The work done by the Edmonton Education Society and the Calgary Progress Clubs. A study of these groups might lead to a better

understanding of when the tide began to change from traditional to progressive education in the province. This recommendation could build upon the work completed by P.E. Oviat and this researcher.

2) An in-depth study of the American influence on Canadian education. This could be looked at to determine ways in which the influence spread or to ascertain the nature and the extent of the influence. Why, for example, did progressive education only last about ten years in Alberta?

3) A study with respect to progressive education in its various forms may be invaluable. For example, there were the social reconstructionists such as Bode and Counts. But there was also the more skeptical pragmatists such as W. Kilpatrick and H. Rugg who believed that having a doctrinaire programme violated the spirit of pragmatism and empiricism. This would be an interesting field of study and would make an excellent dissertation.

4) A study in political socialization in the period from 1921 to 1935 would be an excellent topic for research. In addition to evaluating the curriculum in Social Studies or some other area other than Social Studies, the researcher could possibly interview those who were students at the time of transition from idealism to progressivism.

5) A study of the effect that progressive education had on provinces other than Alberta and Saskatchewan.

6) A review of D.J. Dickie's work in Alberta education would also be a worthy field of study.

Summary

In summary, the educational system in Alberta as it is today is difficult to understand unless one realizes that it originated and developed in the late nineteenth century. This study has reviewed the system's

general origins and its gradual evolution to the mid-1930s by examining the relationship between the views of political leaders and the Social Studies curriculum and texts. It has demonstrated that conservative trends predominated throughout the period. On the other hand, it also indicated that another approach, known as progressivism, was espoused by some educators, and it reviewed the steps taken to implement some of the practices of this new pedagogy in the Province's schools. In doing this, the study has provided much needed information and interpretation on the history of schooling in Alberta.

FOOTNOTE

[1] J.G. Bourinot, How Canada is Governed (Toronto: The Copp-Clark Company, 1918) pp. v-vi.

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